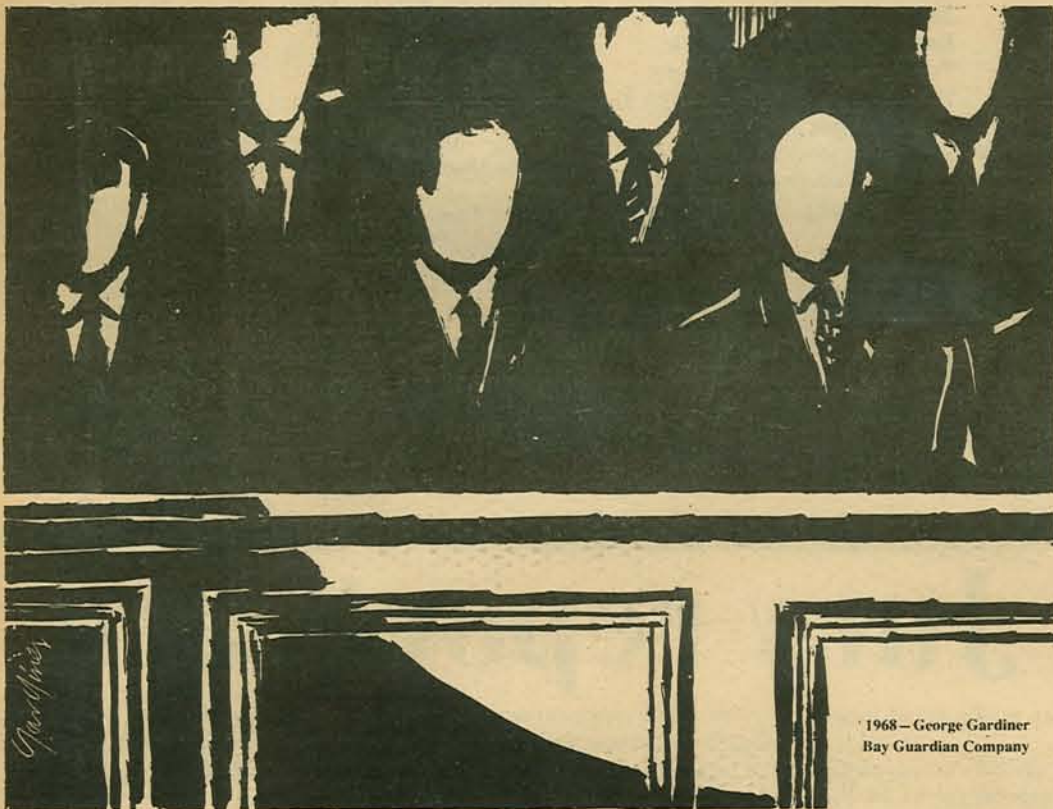


## Spotlighting 19 SF Grand juries



1968—George Gardiner  
Bay Guardian Company

## At SF State-- Behind the law and order facade

By A.K. Bierman

The State College trustees have the money to start a Black Studies Department at San Francisco State, the trustees have admitted.

Gov. Reagan and the trustees have forbidden their Acting State College President, S.I. Hayakawa, to negotiate with students and faculty in the crisis.

These two facts of great educational and political significance have been little reported and understood, but they are the holes which allow the public to peek behind the law and order facade erected by Reagan, Chancellor Glenn S. Dumke and the college trustees.

The first fact was revealed at a Dec. 9 meeting at the San Francisco Labor Temple. George Johns, Secretary of the Labor Council, after receiving a strike sanction request from the teachers' union at San Francisco State, AFT, AFL-CIO, Local 1352, called for mediation efforts between the teachers' union and the trustees.

An impressive list of San Franciscans attended the mediation effort on December 9 -- San Francisco legislators and supervisors, representatives of Mayor Alioto, labor leaders, churchmen, educators, businessmen and civic leaders.

Ronald Houghton, a mediator of national reputation, was persuaded to come from Michigan to use his skills.

Before this distinguished assembly, Sen. George Moscone punched the first hole in the trustees' facade by eliciting from their representative, Dr. Mansel Keene, the startling information that: the trustees expect to have

\$3,500,000 in excess salary savings to turn back to the California general fund at the end of this fiscal year on June 31.

Keene obviously didn't want to reveal the money was at hand--for the \$3,500,000 sum was money which the trustees repeatedly denied they had. This was their reason to delay implementing the Black Studies Department and their "personal contribution" to the student strike.

The second fact was revealed at the Dec 10 meeting at the Labor Temple. Under questioning by the AFT's negotiating committee, the trustees' representative, Atty. Norman Epstein, acknowledged that the trustees had not given Hayakawa any power to deal with the problems besetting the college.

It was clear now that the students were right in claiming that Hayakawa was a "puppet" president. Absentee trustees alone were in charge of San Francisco State College.

The significance of these two facts cannot be appreciated without recognizing that the public picture embraced by many citizens is a carefully erected facade masking Reagan's political manipulation.

The facade, sold as a genuine structure, presents State's struggle as if it were pitted between the good guys defending law and order and the bad guys trying to destroy the college. According to the official version, the good guys are Reagan and the trustees; the bad guys are the black militants, white radicals, revolutionary professors and outside agitators.

**INSIDE**  
  
**Superchron**  
on page 4

Should it have been built?

**BART**

Part 4 of a series on page 6

**CRANSTON--**  
the new coalition

**McCLOSKEY**  
on page 10

**FORT** on the police on page 4

The granddaddy

**Cal Expo** on page 5  
of boondoggles

**REXROTH**  
on the Panthers on page 4

**Rolfe Peterson**  
on page 11

The real struggle, however, is between those who advocate home rule and those who are exercising absentee political control.

**Two resignations**

Here are some background facts which show how home rule at San Francisco State has suffered from absentee political control:

—continued on page 13

# The Exposers EXPOSED!

By Blair Paltridge

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San Francisco's grand juries no more represent a cross-section of this city than do the board of directors of the Bank of America or the afternoon clientele at the steam room at the Olympic Club.

A Guardian investigation into the composition and complexion of the city's grand juries from 1950 to 1968 shows that they are grossly discriminatory and unrepresentative—economically, socially, ethnically, geographically and occupationally. And even in terms of age and sex because there are no young people and few women on the juries.

The selection system also undemocratically limits the choice of grand jury nominees, not to the city's 300,000 registered voters, but to a narrow circle of friends, acquaintances and cronies of San Francisco's 24 superior court judges, who alone nominate grand jurors.

It is this body of Nabobs that are entrusted with two crucial civic assignments—to conduct hearings on criminal cases and make felony indictments and to watchdog city departments.

As usual, this year, after being wine, dined and thoroughly confused by many of the city's most charming department heads, they gushed forth with reports that will be little known nor long remembered nor even read--just filed and forgotten.

But grand jury reports are ignored for good reason. They are so often out of touch with reality as to be laughable, if the subjects weren't of such moment and import.

**Non-controversial**

To be sure, the 1968 grand jury has reported thoughtfully on such non-controversial departments as the Library and Art Commission. It has also issued several reports bristling with criticism--on Recreation and Parks and on Civil Service--but these are departments headed by men with neither the time nor the inclination to cozy to investigating grand jurors.

This year the grand jury again churned up familiar terrain: it condemned "welfare chiselers," supported freeways, touted skyscrapers, lauded the Police and Fire Departments--and ignored all kinds of basic city problems.

This is understandable, however, for the concerns of grand juries through the years have been the concerns of the San Francisco establishment, and at that, only a narrow section of the business/social establishment--the almost exclusive source of grand jurors.

The two charts (pp. 2-3) tell

—continued on page 2

### 'It's a good system'

"It's a magnificent thing, Don Fazackerly, banker and foreman of the 1968 SF grand jury, told a Channel 7 Television panel about the city's grand jury system.

The grand jury represents "the conscience of San Francisco," Ralph Sheehan, grand jury consultant told The Guardian. Superior Court Judge Edwin F. O'Day told The Guardian the jury was a "representative" San Francisco body, as did many other judges, as did John G. Den Besten, Daniel J. Collins and William McDonnell (the 1960, 1961 and 1962 grand jury foremen, respectively).

Nonetheless, criticism grows that the grand jury here is less than representative. Even the 1968 grand jury recognized this at its Dec. 16 session and called for two grand juries--one for criminal matters, one for civil investigations.

The first would be drawn from regular trial jury lists, insuring more representation from income and minority groups. The second would be chosen as it is now--by the city's Superior Court judges.

To provide continuity, some members would continue to perform their unpaid duties on the civil grand jury for the next term.

(Bierman is professor of philosophy at San Francisco State. He is a co-founder of the American Federation of Teachers, local 1352 at State, organized seven other state college locals and the AFT local at Cal and wrote the constitution for State's Academic Senate and is the author of "Logic: A Dialogue." He is a member of AFT's negotiating committee.)



	1968	1967	1966	1965
<b>Banking</b>	Bank vice-president (P.S. Dalton) Bank manager (M.A. Durkin) Bank vice-president (D. Fazackerley) Bank manager (P.L. Tarantino)	Bank vice-president (R.V. Johnson) Insurance executive (N.L. Lyon) Insurance broker (D. Sweet) Insurance Salesman (H.W. Herman)	Bank vice-president (A.J. Jacobs) Bank vice-president (L.V. Jones) Bank vice-president (M.J. O'Dea) Bank executive (R) (R.W. Rivers)	Bank cashier (E.B. Delman) Insurance executive (J.L. Molinari)
<b>Insurance</b>	Insurance broker (G.H. Russell) Insurance broker (L. Tilin)		Executive (R) (F.C. Colridge) Investor (B. Gordon) Stock broker's wife (D.M. Kilduff) Importer-exporter (R) (H.W. Seaman) Corp. president (W.R. Smith) Painting contractor (E.G. Zelinsky) Painting contractor (L.E. Fregosi) Public relations director (R) (S.H. Kessler) Sales manager (H. Rosenthal) Sales manager (R.M. Leveira)	Co. owner (A. Muzio) Executive's wife (D.I. Cincotta) Executive (R) (E.A. Mayor) Executive (S.G. Sachs) Executive's wife (I.L. Leutza) Executive (R) (J.F. Hanavan) Co. president (E.H. Brumfield) Contractor (R. McCarthy) Co. executive (L.H. Deakyne)
<b>Big Business</b>	Co. board chairman (J.R. Hermann) Co. president (H. Liss) Co. president (J. Salomon) Representative (T.W. Finigan) Salesman (R.T. Allender) Salesman (R.L. Luckel) Sales engineer (I.J. Spratt)	Co. president (L. Bart) Manufacturer (R. Harms) Theater owner (B. Levin) Salesman (C. Gignoux) Secretary (G.L. Anderson) Secretary (R) (L.F. Redmond) PT&T executive (C.A. Smith)		Union official (G.L. Pickle)
<b>Utilities</b>	PT&T pr director (G.M. Foster)	Union official (D. Rantaro)	PT&T executive (R) (T.W. Handley)	
<b>Labor Unions</b>	Union official (J.M. Fitzmaurice) Union official (M. Less)	Real estate broker (H.L. Cox) Real estate broker (T.F. Leong) Real estate broker (C.S. Olsen)	Union official (J. Bourke)	Real estate broker (A.A. Petri) Real estate broker (C.T. Olson) Real estate broker (W.B. Baker)
<b>Real Estate</b>	Real estate broker (H. Goodman)	Landscape gardener (R) (C. Abad) Restaurateur (W.P. Boggio) School administrator (R) (J.E. Clisham) Public accountant (A.E. Stamps)	Real estate broker (W.A. Ferenz)	Jeweler (R) (D.A. Klein) Restaurateur (A. Rosasco) Construction superintendent (R) (A.J. Rushton) Electrical engineer (R) (E.F. Sixtus)
<b>Others</b>	Widow (E.E. Purcell) Veterinarian (J.H. Stephens)		Attorney's wife (C. C. Groezinger) auto shop owner (J. Topolos)	

Job titles were taken from official grand jury rosters. (R. means retired. The percentage of jurors in these limited occupational categories remained roughly the same for the entire period of The Guardian's survey—1950-1968. The city clerk's

office said grand jury rosters before 1950 were in storage and would take several days to produce.

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# Ignored Grand Jury reports are

—continued from page 1  
the story. Yes, during the last 19 years of 261 jurors, the grand jury has had three social workers, one school teacher, a widow, a housewife or two, and a handful of small businessmen representing middle and lower social classes.

But these are engulfed by a swelling tide of the socially and commercially prominent: 26 company presidents, 31 bankers, 19 realtors, five PT&T executives, two employees of Louis Lurie, one of the city's largest property owners.

The working class has been represented only by the presidents and officials of the city's big labor unions.

The map chart shows that, with few exceptions, the 171 grand jurors of the last nine years have lived only in the more exclusive residential districts—Nob Hill, Pacific Heights, Twin Peaks, Mt. Davidson, St. Francis Wood, Presidio Heights and the Marina.

Many jurors with humble identities, such as "housewife" or "painting contractor," live at ritzy locations. For example: Mrs. Ina Ferer (1961 jury) of 520 El Camino Del Mar, and Edward G. Zelinsky (1966) of 120 Sea Cliff Ave., both Sea Cliff.

SF grand juries, like most throughout the state, are chosen each year from a list of persons nominated by San Francisco's 24 Superior Court judges. Not from voter registration lists (like federal grand juries and all petit juries), not from talent searches (as the judges admit), but from their pool of friends, acquaintances and social debtors.

## "Old buddies"

If a nominee isn't drawn one year, the judge often resubmits the same name again. And so the pool of 120 nominees or so, five maximum per judge, keeps bubbling up many of the same names year after year.

Once again, the judges have turned in the same sort of roster for the 1969 grand jury. The Guardian has learned. This new jury undoubtedly will be no more representative than its predecessors. It will be empaneled in January.

As San Francisco Assemblyman Willie Brown told the Guardian, "The most appalling thing about appointments of members is the arbitrary nature of the selection

process. As far as I can see, only friends, old fraternity buddies and socially prominent figures are considered.

"Try and find the young, the poor, the black and brown on the grand jury, and you won't find them because they aren't appointed." Brown, as chairman of the assembly's government efficiency committee, has taken the lead

in advocating major grand jury reforms.

Based on the city's non-white population percentage of 34.5, minority groups should ideally have about seven members of the 19-member total. On the past 19 juries, blacks have averaged about one seat per jury, Chinese one now and then, others almost none.

The grand jury's reports on city departments show the concerns of the business establishment.

Its report on the department of social services is full of praise for Ronald Born, general manager, and implies that all agency problems are the fault of his staff or of welfare recipients. There is no mention of Born's dictatorial tactics, in refusing to allow

staff members to testify before the social services commission, nor of the fact that at least one commissioner owns property in which welfare recipients live.

And what is the grand jury's recommendation to encourage dignity and self-reliance among the poor? It says all checks from the department of social services

—continued on page 3

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## Three little groups of 'friends and neighbors' (in 3 circles)

### I. PARK MERCED GROUP

Irwin J. Spratt, 100 Font Blvd. (1968)  
Joseph E. Clisham, 121 Font Blvd. (1967)  
William G. Menary, Sr., 150 Font Blvd. (1959)  
H. William Hermann, 55 Chumadero (1967)  
Dr. S. Barre Paul, 50 Chumadero (1959)  
Leslie H. Keakyne, 125 Cambon Dr. (1965)

### II. SEA CLIFF GROUP

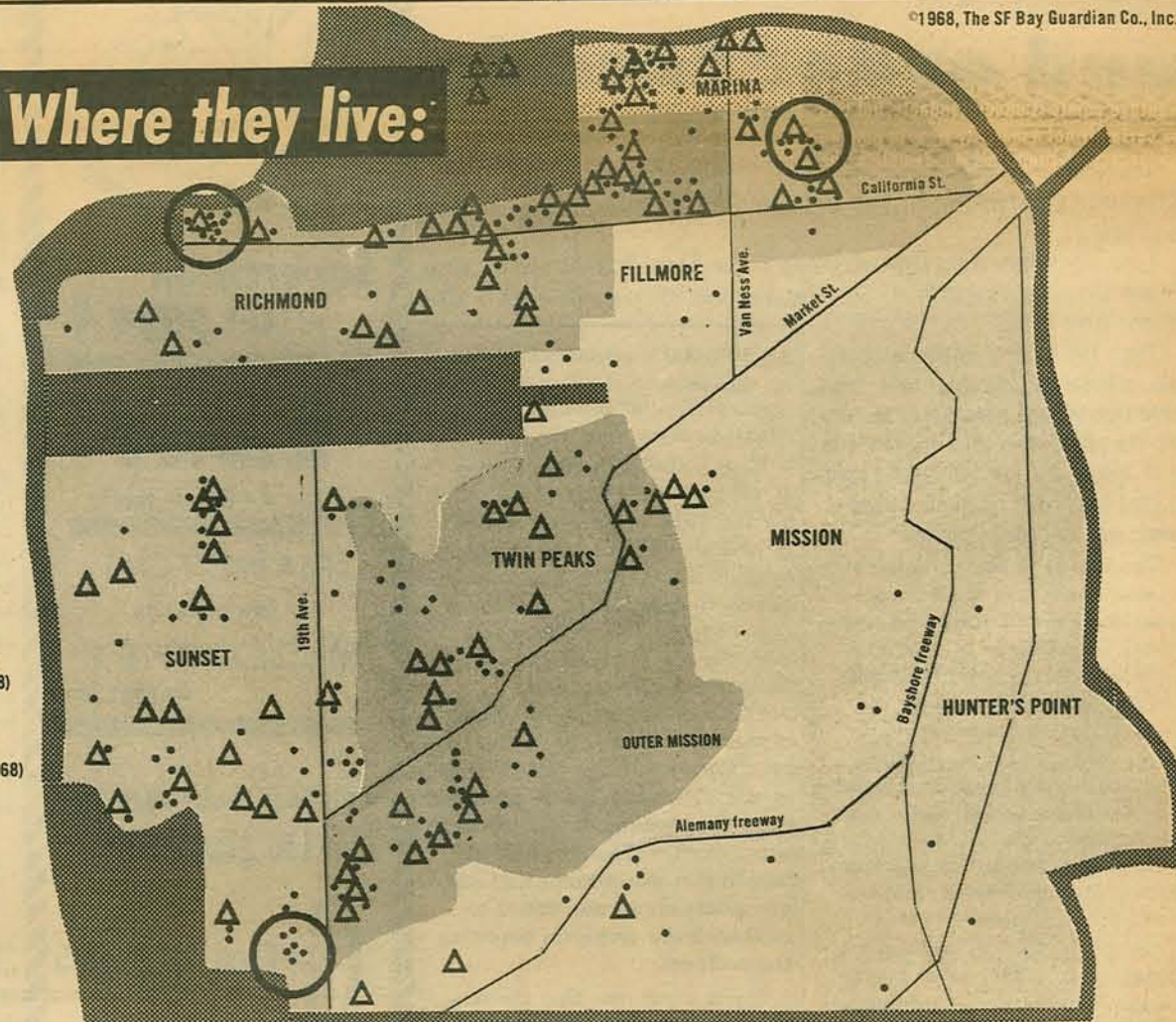
Harry Liss, 455 Sea Cliff Ave. (1968)  
Mrs. Bertha L. Van Vliet, 130 Sea Cliff Ave. (1960)  
Mrs. Ina Ferer, 520 El Camino Del Mar (1961)  
Robert A. Lurie, 525 El Camino Del Mar (1960)  
William F. Bayne, 745 El Camino Del Mar (1958)  
Richard L. Swig, 45 McLaren Ave. (1963)  
Joseph J. Tynan, 286 28th Ave. (1959)  
Henry Rosenthal, 242 29th Ave. (1966)  
Lawrence Bolton, 170 30th Ave. (eligible 1968)

### III. RUSSIAN HILL GROUP

Emanuel A. Mayer, 1000 Green St. (1965)  
Lewis B. Levin, 1000 Green St. (1964)  
Gaston L. Goetting, 1000 Green St. (1961)  
John R. Hermann, Sr., 999 Green St. (1968)  
Charlton H. Buckley, 1070 Green St. (eligible 1968)  
Irwin Cheim, 1750 Taylor St. (eligible 1968)  
Walton R. Smith, 1750 Taylor St. (1966)  
Miss Mildred J. Bell, 1125 Broadway (1959)

DOTS indicate precise location of residences of SF grand jurors for 1958-68. TRIANGLES indicate residences of persons nominated by judges, but not chosen for the 1968 Grand Jury. Circles indicate three clusters of grand jurors who are particularly close neighbors. Of 190 grand jurors in 10 years and 118 nominees in 1968, only a handful came from lower class sections: Mission (4), Fillmore (3), Hunters Point (2).

## Where they live:



Only a handful came from the lower middle: Bernal Heights (2), Potrero Hill (1), Haight-Ashbury (1 nominee). The balance came from the better sections, and mainly the gilt-edged sections of Sea Cliff, Presidio Heights, St. Francis Woods, Pacific Heights, Nob and Russian Hills, Twin Peaks and the Marina.

## THE 1968 GRAND JURY

Raymond T. Allender, salesman, Calif. Contract Interiors, 538 Arballo Dr.  
Philip S. Dalton, vice-president, Crocker-Citizens Nat'l Bank, 3633 Clay  
Michael A. Durkin, branch manager, City Savings and Loan Association, 2091 18th Ave.  
Don Fazackerley, executive vice-president, Commonwealth Nat'l Bank, 170 El Verano Way  
T. Wade Finigan, representative, Luce and Co., 368 Pacheco

John M. Fitzmaurice, manager, Teamsters Pension Trust, 524 Douglass  
George M. Foster, retired public relations director, Pacific Telephone Co., 214 Mallorca Way  
Harold Goodman, real estate broker, Partner Contact Realty, 646 Funston Ave.  
John R. Hermann, Sr., chairman of board, Hermann Safe Co., 999 Green St.

Morris Less, labor official, Teamsters No. 216, 142 9th Ave.  
Harry Liss, furniture manufacturer, West Coast Industries, 455 Sea Cliff Ave.  
Raymond L. Luckel, salesman, Pacific Moving and Storage Co., 2945 26th Ave.  
Mrs. Eva E. Purcell, widow, 801 Jones St.  
George H. Russell, insurance broker, 1333 Jones St.

Jerome Salomon, president, D and S Lumber Co., 345 Magellan Ave.  
Irwin J. Spratt, sales engineer, Ray Burner Co., 100 Font Blvd.  
Dr. Joseph H. Stephens, retired US veterinarian, US Department of Agriculture, 2155 33rd Ave.  
Peter I. Tarantino, retired branch manager, Bank of America, 2472 Vallejo St.  
Lew Tilin, insurance broker and agent, Lew Tilin Associates and Mutual of New York, 3747 Divisadero St.



1964

Bank executive (H.F. Sordelli)

Insurance executive (R.W. Heintz)  
Insurance broker (L.B. Levin)  
Insurance real estate broker (J. Cimino)

Co. president (R.C.F. Brundage)  
Co. vice-president (E. F. Euphrat)  
Merchant (L.G. Myers)  
Co. president (E.J. Willig)  
Co. vice-president (M. Sosnick)  
Salesman (R) (I.W. Barnes)  
Salesman (T.V. Morabito)

Union official (C.C. Wahl)  
Union official (J.E. McGee)  
Union official (J. B. Greenfield)

Real estate investor (C. Semonian)

Attorney's wife (C.S. Silerman)  
Widow (A.H. Clark)  
Housewife (E.R. Crabtree)  
Superintendent (W.F. Hartnett)

1963

Bank executive (R) (W.J. Murray)

Insurance p.r. director (F.F. Barlettani)  
Insurance executive (J. Fletcher)

Co. president (J.J. Donohue)  
Co. vice-president (S. Hymes)  
Investor (H.G. Sweet)  
Hotel owner (R.L. Swig)  
Stock broker (W.C. Williams)  
Consultant (A.J. Therien)  
Secretary-treasurer (A.S. Nocita)  
Advertising agency owner (J.R. Lane, Sr.)  
Salesman (M.R. Hipps)

Union official (J. Brascov)  
Union official (E.L. Martin)  
Union official (D.F. Weber)

Real estate insurance broker (A.F. Mazza)

Physician (E.B. Fenston)  
Laundry owner (A. P. Loustau)  
Widow (H.M. Mibach)

1962

Insurance broker (A. Rolando)

Southern Pacific Chief Clerk (J.A. Bailey)  
Merchant (M.J. Boxer)  
Financial counselor (R.F. Friedenthal)  
Public relations executive (G.D. Gavin)  
Investment Co. owner (W. Moskovitz)  
Co. president (R.P. Utter)  
Electrical contractor (M.H. Seid)  
Salesman (J.B. Sheehan)

PT&T executive (R) (S.I. Bresnahan)

Union official (C. Amadio)  
Union official (E.J. Wafford)

Laundry owner (R) (E.J. Armand)  
Social work administrator (B. Bonapart)  
Ticket agency owner (L.A. Cardozo)  
Public accountant (H.W. Flynn)  
Restaurateur (W.E. McDonnell)  
Dentist (W.L. Parker)  
Optometrist (D.B. Schulz)

1961

Co. president (R. Arnstein)  
Co. vice-president (H.A. Berliner)  
Stock broker (D.J. Collins)  
Co. president (L.H. Gilmour)  
Merchant (R) (G.I. Goetting)  
Purchasing agent (H.J. Lawlor)  
Executive (R) (G. Lehrsens)  
Co. vice-president (A.W. Spinetti)

Union official (C.J. Fohn)

Real estate operator (T. Magner)

Accountant (V.J. Callan)  
Housewife (N. Carroll)  
Chemist-metallurgist (F.R. Geis)  
Secretary, Elks Lodge (S.W. Hopkins)  
Housewife (I. Lerer)  
Housewife (A.J. Mastoras)  
Research analyst (C.H. McDonagh)  
Hardware dealer (F.C. Miralda)  
School teacher (B.A. Toler)

1960

Bank executive (J.G. Den Besten)  
Bank vice-president (R.M. King)  
Bank executive (W.J. O'Brien)  
Bank branch manager (W.H. Sandford)

Co. general manager (F.H. Lachman)  
Co. vice-president (R.A. Lurie)  
Restaurateur and builder (L.J. Rocca)  
Confectionery broker (M. Sherman)  
Co. manager (L. H. Sorini)  
Salesman (C.A. Lundy)

PT&T engineer (J.W. Sherry)

Union official (J.P. Mazzola)  
Union official (P.N. Saltzner)

Realtor (D.F. McCarthy)

Retired (J.C. Connell)  
Retired (A.B. Johnson)  
Social worker (G. Duhagon)  
Florist (F.P. Lassalle)

# so often laughingly out of touch

— continued from page 2

should be labeled, in 96-point Tempo Black type one presumes, "Welfare Department." This, despite the fact that the department's name was changed years ago as a step to break up the welfare syndrome.

Perhaps the greatest concern is the grand jury's protectively blind

attitude toward the police and fire departments. The police report does say some nice things about the community relations bureau, but says nothing about the departure of its eminently able head, Lt. Andreotti (who got no cooperation and left in disgust) nor why the bureau has been brutally downgraded.

## The distilled wit and wisdom of the 1968 SF Grand Jury:

**ON THE EMBARCADERO FREEWAY:** "The protest of being an 'eyesore' from a few vantage points is understandable, but this is certainly not a majority view. In time we suspect that proposals to demolish the freeway will diminish as the completed structures of the Golden Gateway, International Market Center and Rockefeller West Projects come into being. These will dwarf the freeway and alter the perspective considerably. . . . We suggest deferring decision until the new waterfront skyline takes shape."

**ON THE POLICE:** "We are fortunate to have one of the finest departments in the nation under the direction of a chief who has won national prominence and is recognized by top enforcement authorities as the outstanding chief of police in America today."

**ON THE TACTICAL SQUAD:** "The Grand Jury has observed the Police Department's tactical squad and wishes to give special recognition to this unit . . . the squad is a mobile emergency force able to handle any situation and has effected over 1,500 arrests through 10 months of this year."

**ON MAYOR ALIOTO:** "Time has proven that Mayor Joseph Alioto is deserving of commendation for his aggressive approach and solutions of the many problems which beset him in his first year. His work with minority groups is particularly outstanding."

**ON FREEWAYS:** "The so-called freeway revolt of 1965 cost our community some \$300 million in needed jobs."

**ON SKYSCRAPERS AND BLOCKBUSTER PROJECTS:** "We commend the board for its diligent pursuit of acceptable standards in order to make possible the very important Embarcadero Center and the International Market projects . . . they will contribute heavily to the perpetuation of San Francisco's eminence in West Coast management and finance."

**ON PROSTITUTES:** "We are encouraged by the marked reduction of these arrogant and insulting individuals from our streets. We note the correlation of this reduction and the jail sentences imposed by the judiciary. However, this problem has not been eradicated and we call upon the Police Department, the District Attorney's office and the courts to resolve this disgraceful problem."

**ON DRUGS AND ALCOHOL:** "... on a steady increase over the past years . . . it is felt that the citizens of San Francisco as taxpayers are not obligated or responsible to supply psychiatric, venereal disease, and drug abuse clinics everywhere to care for a group of irresponsible transients who appear to have a total disregard for their own life and welfare."

**Protectively blind**

Nor does the report mention the crumbling relationship between the police and minority communities, the scarcity of black policemen, the racist attitudes of many white policemen, the rough and ready tactics of the tactical squad or the need for some independent body (call it police review or whatever) to actually investigate charges against police (as in the O'Brien case) and take necessary action.

The fire department is called "one of the finest and most efficient in the nation," but there is no mention of the fact that there are fewer than 10 Blacks among the city's 1,400 firemen. The situation is even worse for Chinese or Mexican firemen.

**No questions asked.**

Further examination of the reports on city departments turns up unanswered (and unasked) questions at every turn. Examples:

**HETCH HETCHY SYSTEM:** six laudatory paragraphs on the city's power-generating system in the Sierra, but no reference to the unasked question: why is city power sold to PG&E at wholesale rates, then sold back to the city's taxpayers at retail rates by PG&E, a privately owned utility? Why doesn't the city have a municipal power system, and cheaper rates, when it is required by federal law to do so?

**ASSESSOR:** wholesale compliments for the assessor, but no reference to the unasked question: what steps have been taken to eliminate the possibilities of favoritism as practiced by Russell Wolden?

**GENERAL HOSPITAL:** six congratulatory paragraphs, but no reference to the unasked question: what is holding up construction of the \$30 million new hospital authorized by voters five years ago?

**MUNICIPAL RAILWAY:** support for new rolling stock, but no reference to the unasked question: is there some sensible planning in progress for the desperately dilapidated Muni, or is it still the stepchild of the money-making and more glamorous utilities?

**CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER:** praise for Tom Mellon,



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but no reference to the unasked question: as an official with lifetime tenure, ought he to remain silent on the activities of elected officials, no matter how wrong-headed?

**REDEVELOPMENT AGENCY:** high marks, but no reference to the unasked questions: what is being done to satisfy the needs and demands of angry residents in the Western Addition or, say, the Filipino community Walter Shorenstein is dispossessing from his Keamy St. hotel? What about the conflicts of interest in the

In general, the grand jury is capable of coping with the limited complexities of non-controversial city government. But wherever issues are complex, whenever they involve race and whenever they are politically sensitive, the evidence is clear the grand jury is out of its depth.

Willie Brown's assembly committee this year set to work on this project. It has stressed reform in selecting jurors and in making criminal indictments. Although the major job of grand juries is to investigate the con-

from pre-trial publicity, the press coverage given grand jury indictments also can damage a defendant's chances of a fair trial.

These secret jury meetings are defended by some as the only place left for frank discussion since it bypasses the time-consuming formal rules guiding procedure and submitting evidence at a public hearing.

**High rates**

This process is much faster and easier for District Attorney offices and results in a higher rate of indictments than the preliminary hearing procedure.

Marshall Krause, former staff attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, calls the grand jury "a rubber stamp." He adds: "I have never heard of a case where a grand jury did not indict when a D.A. asked it to."

Although in many cases an accused person is indicted before he is arrested, if instead a person is arrested and then indicted--as in the case of Black Panther Leader Huey Newton--the grand jury procedure then is contrary to the now generally accepted and practiced concept of the defendant's right to legal counsel and defense at all times from his arrest onward.

During Huey Newton's trial, his attorney, Charles Garry, insisted that the indictment by the Alameda County Grand Jury violated Newton's rights.

Garry called that jury "a silk stocking body." It did not constitute a body of Newton's peers, he said, because its members were wealthy, old friends of Alameda County superior court judges and contained no poor or Negro members.

Brown said, "The District Attorney controls the grand jury. Only his evidence is presented,

Minority representation			
Minority	Per cent of population	Expected no. on each grand jury	Average number per year from 1950
NEGRO	12.6	3	1
MEXICAN-AMERICAN	11.7	2	0
CHINESE	5.8	1	0
OTHER	4.4	1	0
TOTAL NON-WHITE	34.5	7	1

There are no records of the racial composition of SF grand juries. However, The Guardian checked several grand jury foremen, and key persons on each jury, and determined that there was an average of about one black person per jury.

Jurors we talked to couldn't recall a jury with more than one black person. So seldom were other minorities represented that they didn't average one per jury over the 19-year research period.

agency's South of Market redevelopment--with Walter Kaplan, a key executive of the Emporium and its South of Market real estate shenanigans, sitting as chairman of the agency.

**HEALTH DEPARTMENT:** lots of fretting about the increase of drug abuse and alcoholism, but nothing on the big questions: Why did the department emasculate and dismantle Joel Fort's nationally prominent Center for Special Problems? Why did it fire Fort? Why did it just close down the center's jail rehabilitation branch and, a year ago, the center's drug and alcohol screen branch? Why did it then force the private Haight-Ashbury clinic to close? Why did it block, in the spring of 1967, a \$1 million EOC grant for narcotics treatment?

duct of county government departments, they also can examine felony cases and hand down indictments. They can be a powerful influence for improving and watching over city government.

District attorneys sometimes use the grand jury to bypass the usual preliminary hearing process that determines whether enough evidence is available to try an accused person.

However, all grand jury meetings are closed, and the defendant can neither be represented by counsel nor be present himself. Defense evidence cannot be submitted to the grand jury.

Although this process protects the D.A.'s witnesses and sources



# Who's afraid of Muddy Waters?

It was surprising, to me at least, how many people got all wrought up about the election. I can't imagine an intelligent person being in the least concerned which utterly amoral vulgar demagogue got into The White House.

It is some consolation that a silly and loquacious man was kept out who betrayed every principle he ever had. I hope he is haunted to his dying day by his refusal to so much as come to the telephone when his opponent phoned him from the 15th floor that his staff was being mayhemed by the Hog Butcher of the World.

I hope he hears, every night as he falls asleep, his own flatulent voice calling the Pedernales and asking, "Shall I or shall I not interfere Massa?"

## Rice crispies

One thing you can say for Dirty Dick, he's never had any principles to betray but he's the first of the robot politicians manufactured from used Rice Crispies coupons in the PR offices. We can look forward to four years of struggle between J. Walter Thompson, Chase and Citibank and the hoodlum millionaires of Southern California over control of the country.

One peculiarity of the modern demagogic process, with its McLuhan destruction of reality, is that last time it permitted the election of perhaps the only man in the history of the American Presidency who could be called positively evil.

We have had fools and rascals, Van Burens, Chester A. Arthurs and Hardings, but Johnson was unique. There is something about the electoral process and the public



mind that until his day kept a man like him out of the Presidency.

Is Dirty Dick evil? Metaphysicians have said that evil is privative, that it is the intrusion of not being into being.

I suppose in this sense Doggy Dick is evil because, like all the not people, he doesn't exist.

However, the first "government by manufactured celebrity" was that of Jack Kennedy. He was just manufactured by a nicer advertising agency.

Perhaps the day will soon come, what with all this talk of reforming the method of presidential elections and getting rid of the electoral college, that the American people won't have to vote for the package, they'll just vote for an advertising agency like now they vote for electors.

## Kathleen's low

The most important election news in San Francisco was the extremely low vote for Kathleen Cleaver, lower than that polled by Anita Whitney or Oleta O'Conner ever on the old time Communist ticket in the Red Thirties.

The fact that her vote almost exactly matched Paul Jacobs would indicate that she got no votes from the indomitable suffragettes who always vote for a woman regardless and that she got no race votes as such. Oleta could always rely on a big hunk of both the women and the Irish.

Not only that, but Kathleen Cleaver is certainly the best looking woman to ever run for public office in San Francisco and at least as highly cultured as the notoriously cultured Missus Onassis.

What went wrong? It is very simple. The Panthers and The Peace and Freedom Party simply made no connection at all with what they used to call the masses, least of all the Black masses. Their appeal was confined almost exclusively to displaced persons--unemployed Black youth, hippies and rich bohemians in Pacific Heights.

I saw it coming. All the past year the high school boys in the Black neighborhood where I live were going about in black leather jackets. Then the Panthers opened a headquarters around the corner. Within a week, they had scared off all these young

—continued on page 12



A policeman's lot is not a happy one. With insufficient education and training, poor organization and inadequate compensation, he is asked to enforce morality, suppress dissent and preserve riches.

Recently, various policemen have been shown publicly as heavy drug(alcohol) users. They broke down the door and shot at an Oakland dentist's home before discovering it was the wrong house. Police closed down the Avalon ballroom as part of their war against hippies and young people in general. They have gone on illegal "sick-leave" strikes in several cities and have taken large, regular bribes. They have rioted in Chicago while their membership in extremist organizations is increasing. Day-by-day, police engage in bribery, blackmail, spying, wiretapping, entrapment, framing and other activities which they maintain are typical of only Communist nations.

A pervasive sickness grips not only the police and the system of "justice," but the entire society. I want to concentrate on solutions rather than the above problems. Name calling and violence dominate interactions between police and their most active critics, but neither activity is going to improve things. Reform should begin at the top with a total reorganization of police leadership.

Chief Cahill, who like many "leaders" is mainly a public relations figure, must be replaced. The other old men at the top must give way to younger, better trained, more innovative men who understand the out-groups in American society. These men would support the reformist efforts of lower-echelon police, particularly the Community Relations Unit.

## Lifetime job

Many problems become police problems due to failures of other institutions. Most notable in San Francisco is the Chief Administrator to whom people have no recourse since he is a lifetime appointment. The Health and Welfare Departments fail since they are both led by gross incompetents.

Paradoxically, the one thing the police aren't properly criticized for is their failure to deal with the major problems officially assigned to them: for example

# REFORM — then support your local police

major crime (murder, rape, theft and burglary) has increased 36 per cent in San Francisco.

Good PR smokescreening combined with fear tactics has kept these failures obscure, particularly since politicians refuse to exercise their "civilian review" power.

Old cops should be annually required to supplement their outmoded and ancient education. All new recruits should be required to have college degrees including criminology and psychology courses. Salaries, promotional and transfer opportunities, and fringe benefits, must be significantly upgraded to attract and keep better people.

## Regional units

The major recommendations of the President's Commissions on Law Enforcement, Drug Abuse and Violence, and the recommendations of the Space-General Corporation in California, to modernize and humanize law enforcement should be implemented.

The major recommendations of the President's Commissions on Law Enforcement, Drug Abuse and Violence, and the recommendations of the Space-General Corporation in California, to modernize and humanize law enforcement should be implemented.

Crime is a regional problem, yet we maintain inefficient, expensive, top heavy local police departments riddled

—continued on page 15

In our last episode, we left Dave Nelson, the PR man from Superchron, in city hall battling for freedom of the press.

(Freedom of the press: meaning an exemption from the gross receipts tax for the city's newspapers and broadcast media. See next item.)

In today's episode, Nelson has switched nimbly and is fighting for the right to keep unpleasant news out of the press.

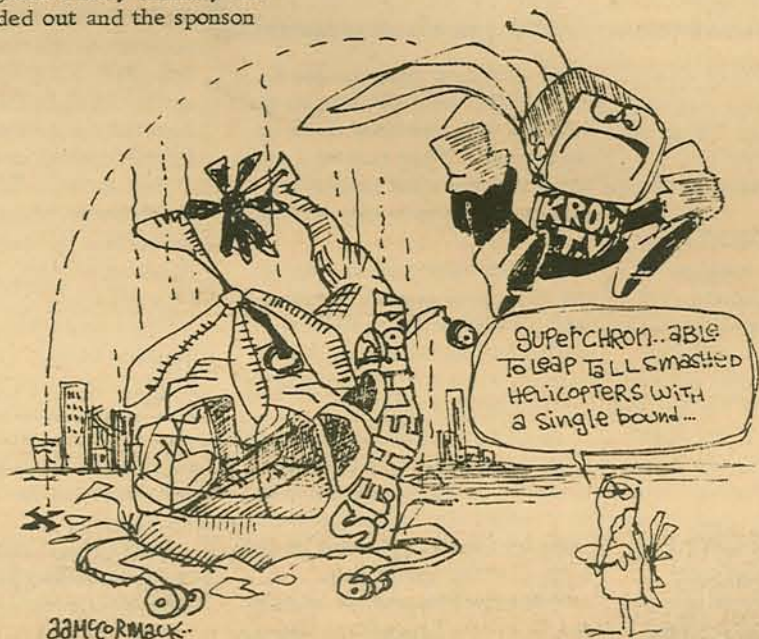
(Unpleasant news: meaning a story reflecting badly on a Nelson public relations client, SFO Helicopter service.)

Details: On Nov. 7, an SFO helicopter touched down at the downtown heliport near the Ferry Building and began taxiing to the gate. Then, crunch, the right wheel folded out and the sponson

gear collapsed. The seven passengers and three crew men were shaken, but damage was minor and the FAA investigators labeled it an "incident," not an accident.

But a flash went out on the police radio, news teams from Channel 7 and 5 soon materialized on the scene. It wasn't a rafter-rattling story, but it is the sort of story newspapers print and television stations broadcast.

Nelson then hustled about putting out the word--among other places, to both Examiner and Chronicle managements. SFO has financial troubles, a story like this would hurt--please, please don't print anything.



1968, The SF Bay Guardian Co., Inc.

The Examiner and Chronicle acceded to Nelson's pleas and suppressed the story, but Channels 5 and 7 ran it. And at Channel 4, the Chronicle's TV subsidiary, a newsman told the Guardian: "Of course we ran it. We were all over it like gangbusters."

(Note: if Nelson's SFO has financial troubles, it isn't for lack of city hall generosity. With the exception of the USO and a military information desk, SFO is the only outfit that pays no rent or fees whatsoever for its landing and storage space at SE International Airport. Everybody else pays--from the shoeshine stands to the barbershops.

(Note further: airport officials know of no other helicopter service, at any other major airport, that gets by without paying rental or landing fees. Note still further: the airport has proposed a reasonable \$1.24 per landing fee for SFO, but Nelson has kept it bottled up for two years in the Public Utilities Commission.)

Back to Dave Nelson in City Hall. Nelson did as he promised: he got six supervisors (Jack Ertola, Terry Francois, William Blake, Peter Tamaras, Dorothy Von Beroldingen and James Mailliard) to go along with the patently unfair, patently ridiculous exemption

from the city's gross receipts tax for the Chronicle/Examiner/broadcast media. (The Examiner, to its credit, did not go after an exemption; Nelson went after it for the Chronicle on behalf of his longtime friend and associate, executive editor Scott Newhall. Newhall himself even made several calls to balking supervisors. At stake for the Chron: about \$300,000 or so a year.)

(Of course, the Examiner's good behavior doesn't make much difference; according to the Ex/Chron agency agreement, the money comes and goes from the same pot.)

Nelson had one thing to offer: the Chronicle's news and editorial support, which he freely implied would or would not be forthcoming on the basis of how supervisors voted. It was a special form of bribery and supervisors resented it. For Ertola, who swung the critical vote, the word in city hall was that Nelson promised him Chronicle support for mayor when and if he decided to run.

This Ertola denied to The Guardian. His change of heart came only after a trusted newspaper friend (he wouldn't identify him) showed him figures (he wouldn't say what they were) which showed that such vexatious taxation would drive either the poor old Chron or the poor old Ex out of business (he didn't specify how). And, as a matter of principle, he didn't want to be responsible for making San Francisco a

—continued on page 12





# Sacramento showcase - blunders, ironies and a Reagan hand out

By Tiffin Patrick

Sacramento--While California educators gird for their annual battle with the Reagan administration and Democrats grow accustomed to the minority status their political tactics have so richly earned, the state quietly prepares to throw another \$2.4 million into a massive political boondoggle that has all but been abandoned by private enterprise.

This particular money trap is known as the California Exposition and State Fair, the self-styled "showcase of the Golden State" that has been half-completed on a sprawling 725-acre site on the American River north of Sacramento.

This unlikely showcase cracked even before Cal Expo opened its gates last July for a disastrous 58-day first season. Nonetheless, the state plunged ahead with a project that has already cost \$36.3 million, most of it spent at a time that high-priority items such as education or mental health were fighting for every budget dollar they could get.

The story of how the state committed itself to a handout for the Sacramento business community and certain private investors discredits both Brown and Reagan administrations and the Legislature.

## Dubious Start

This dubious commitment began in 1949 when the state purchased nearly 1,000 acres from the late Robert Swansten, a wealthy cattleman whose widow is the sister of ex-Sacramento City Mgr. Bart Cavanaugh.

The land lay dormant for years while the state poured increasingly larger annual subsidies into the carnival-laden state fair in a crowded section of Sacramento. (The amount totaled \$11.7 million over from 1948 to 1968 and in recent years averaged more than \$700,000 annually.) During Brown's second administration, Cal Expo was conceived, in the words of its pre-opening brochure, as "a truly unique world attraction...founded on the premise that something far more vital and more responsive to the needs of present-day California than a state fair is necessary to adequately portray the state and its activities."

According to the glowing forecasts of a \$115,000 report prepared by Economics Research Association (ERA), a Los Angeles consulting firm, Cal Expo was supposed to be self-supporting and attract some 25,500 visitors a day.

To back up its "self-supporting" claims, the report envisioned amenities such as an exposition championship golf course with a \$5 greens fee. The catch: Sacramentans play at a nearby course for \$1.50.

Many, notably A. Alan Post, legislative analyst, greeted this sort of speculative self-support with outright skepticism. The whole thing, Post stated icily, had been accepted "purely on faith."

The Legislature overrode Post

and gave Cal Expo the green light on behest of its Sacramento delegation and the commercial community it represented.

Brown's administration depended upon selling a part of the land to help finance the new exposition. There is no evidence that the state ever made the sales effort that would have produced the required purchase funds--even after apparently clearing a clouded title question raised by heirs of the original landowner.

They objected to selling public exposition land for private business. Ultimately, the state negotiated a complicated sale, complete with a repurchase agreement, to the Employees Retirement System for \$6.5 million. This was less than half of the \$13.5 million sales price estimated in the rosy ERA forecast.

Although Cal Expo's difficulties at this point were singularly unpublicized in Sacramento's 'competitive' newspapers, they did not escape the attention of the board of directors of a non-profit corporation that was supposed to manage the exposition but never really did.

Stalford testified at an October inquiry of the Assembly Government Organization Committee in Los Angeles, that in 1964, he asked Finance Director Hale Champion and General Service Director Robert Harkness where the money was coming from. Champion, recalled Stalford, told him it was "none of your business" and said the Legislature would come up with the funds if the sale wasn't made.

When a reporter in 1966 asked Harkness what the state would do if Cal Expo didn't break even, he replied:

"Well, from a psychological point of view I'm not going to answer that because we're so dedicated to it coming out, I'm not even going to think that it won't come out..."

Reagan's administration was similarly dedicated. It took office in 1967 and immediately applied its "squeeze, cut and trim" philosophy to higher education and mental hospitals.

This government approach would have been much more useful with Cal Expo, obviously in-

capable of paying its own way. Instead, the governor appointed a nine-man review and resubmittee, chaired by General Services Director Andrew R. Lolli and including San Francisco hotelman Ben Swig. The committee decided to go ahead with Cal Expo, pointing out that 12% of the funds had been expended. It decided to rely on private financing for two of the exposition's five major attractions--an industrial exhibit area and a recreation park.

Since private financiers, in this case Union Oil Co. and (the Cal Expo promoters hoped) Coca-Cola Co., do not share the state's passion for throwing good money

## QUOTE

By Senator George Miller (D-Martinez): Cal Expo "provides less entertainment than some of our minor riots."

Irony No. 1: Reagan's administration, whose business is by proclamation business, turned to state control to bail out private enterprise. Irony No. 2: This business administration fired everybody with amusement park experience and replaced them with civil service employees from the Dept. of Agriculture.

Irony No. 3: The review committee could have taken the hard-headed fiscal approach businessmen like to talk about. That is: it could have looked at the 88% total of unexpended funds--nothing had been built on the site at the time. Then it could have sold the land, liquidated the commitment and returned more than \$20 million to state coffers for high priority items or for property tax refunds Reagan and most legislators deem so precious.

Those who contest this point on grounds that the state properly belongs in entertainment, or at least should operate a decent state fair, can hardly be satisfied with Cal Expo results.

Post, whose earlier advice was as good as it was unheeded, told legislative investigators that

The evidence is irrefutable that the bond buyers knew the exposition would not be self-supporting and were counting on the state to bail them out. The admission came formally in a letter from A.V. Bartlett, a Bank of America vice-president, to the Assembly Government Organization Committee.

"Earnings projections were questionable but we hoped that the State Legislature in the budget bill would continue to provide for deficiencies," Bartlett wrote.

Such touching faith in the Legislature is perhaps justified by that representative body's track record on the state water project. However, legislative neglect and subservience is more pronounced than usual for Cal Expo. For Post and others consistently warned about the exposition's prospects.

This year's Assembly investigation, which has come up with few answers, has at least given the Legislature a last opportunity to lock the barn door and has also raised several substantive questions.

The best question concerns the peculiar bidding procedure by which Cal Expo designated the American News Co. as master concessionaire in a revised bidding procedure. On the first bid, American News had offered a 13% return to the state, well behind ABC Consolidated Corporations. But ABC had allegedly failed to comply with certain technical procedures and General Services Director Lolli asked for new bids.

In the second round of bidding American News doubled its offer, edging ABC by one-half a percentage point. So far, inquiring legislators and this reporter have failed to obtain a satisfactory explanation from either Lolli or American News as to why the bid was mysteriously doubled.

## On and on

Meanwhile Cal Expo goes on and on with no good reason.

Union Oil Co., which was supposed to build the \$7 million recreation park in return for such considerations as preferred gas station locations and signed advertising, has pulled out. So, reportedly, has Coca-Cola.

State Finance Director Caspar Weinberger suggested to the executive committee recently that private financing for the unbuilt portion of Cal Expo would be preferable to additional state expenses. Committee Chairman Ralph Nissen, a Williams rice farmer, replied that private enterprise wasn't interested unless the state put Cal Expo on its feet.

"We have to show them that this isn't a bastard child of the state that's been kicked out in the street if we want to get some help," Nissen said.

Nissen's description is as good as any for Cal Expo, which Sen. George Miller (D-Martinez) said earlier this year "provides less entertainment than some of our minor riots."

-continued on page 14

## CAL EXPO

**IRONY NO. 1:** Reagan's administration, whose business is by proclamation business, turned to state control to bail out private enterprise.

**IRONY NO. 2:** This business administration fired everybody with amusement park experience and replaced them with civil service employees from the Dept. of Agriculture.

**IRONY NO. 3:** The review committee could have taken the hard-headed fiscal approach businessmen like to talk about. That is: it could have sold the land, liquidated the commitment and returned more than \$20 million to state coffers for high priority items or for property tax refunds Reagan and most legislators deem so precious.

after bad, these Expo features have never been built.

A look at the review group's findings suggests that the committee failed to come to grips with ERA's inflated estimates of Cal Expo potential. The research group favorably compared the Sacramento area with Dallas-Ft. Worth and made estimates of freeway traffic diversion that one inquiring senator said "just didn't make sense". It then decided to open the half-completed exposition over ERA protest--mainly that the exposition half-built on the site differed markedly from the original concept.

## 3 ironics

Cal Expo proceeded to lose \$1.2 million in 58 days while drawing 561,000 persons--slightly more than one-third of ERA's original estimate. The Reagan administration panicked, fired the general manager and all corporation employees and dissolved the corporation itself in favor of a state-run executive committee.

the exposition was little more than the old state fair in new buildings. This will be even truer next year, for the executive committee since has okayed a weekend state fair program that begins Memorial Day and runs throughout the summer before concluding with the traditional 16-day fair period in September.

Post suggested that the state close down the exposition for a year to restudy the entire concept, attempt to obtain private financing and perhaps induce the city and county of Sacramento and their business interests to share the year-round use and cost of Cal Expo.

## Bank of America

It seems incredible that this was not done before the state in effect pledged the credit of California in behalf of two series of revenue bonds totaling \$13 million that the state floated to obtain Cal Expo financing. The second bond series was purchased by a group in which the Bank of America has a majority interest.



# Transportation experts agree — rail transit is inflexible, out-dated,

By Burton H. Wolfe

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BART never should have been built, the nation's foremost transportation experts say.

They believe, with Dr. Robert Oliver, chairman of the Industrial Engineering Department of the University of California, that BART's directors are "totally incompetent" and have saddled themselves in effect with the wrong transportation in the wrong place, at the wrong time.

Their opinion is summed up by Prof. William L. Garrison, director of the Center for Urban Studies at Illinois University.

"The mass rail transit system is a dog and we had better get away from it."

They argue that, no matter how you jazz up BART or make it futuristic, it is still an inflexible train system that has failed in the past and is now tra-

gically obsolete. In its place, he and other experts propose flexible systems: for example, an electric car that can be operated both under its own power and coupled together with other cars on automated freeways. This kind of system has been designed by General Electric, Westinghouse and other firms, and could be managed by today's engineers.

The San Francisco Bay Area had a magnificent opportunity to develop this system, but blew it because of the ignorance and greed of local business leaders and the engineers they hired to say that train transportation was the only alternative to the auto.

Although BART was proposed as a "total transportation system," the engineers hired to recommend and build it are not "total transportation experts" like Garrison.

A total transportation system integrates all community factors -- geography, social structure, economics, interrelation of business and residential locations, interrelation of urban center with suburbs -- in short, a system that fits transportation into the area's overall structure and needs.

A total transportation expert is a man who knows how to fit these things together and engineer an appropriate system. There are only a few of them in the country.

## BART, no!

Almost all advise against the use of mass rail transit systems like BART. Garrison of Illinois, formerly director of the Transportation Center at Northwestern University, is considered the top authority on the impact that transportation systems have on communities. He has tried to warn of BART's adverse impact, but BART's directors and engineers have refused to listen to him.

"Mass rail transit systems like BART perpetuate living and working in very densely populated areas," Garrison explained in a lengthy interview with me. "They are designed to continue the process of constructing massive high-rise buildings in central downtown districts and compelling people to commute long distances to get to work."

"The other problem with mass rail transit systems is that they fail to contribute the variety of life that an individualized system of transportation does. With BART, you lock yourself into a particular mode of life. You crowd yourself into a box with many other people and are herded down one corridor to a place where you may not want to get off."

"This system, as we can see from the failures of urban rail networks in many parts of the country, is one that the majority of the public has already rejected. It's just that certain classes of people do not have the opportunity to reject mass transit systems (for example, commuters who otherwise would be stall-

## ONE ALTERNATIVE TO BART:

# Imagine your own push-button golf cart zipping you to work every day

ed in auto traffic jams or poor people without autos.)

"Now, for that reason, mass rail transit has been argued for on a welfare basis. That is, there are certain classes of people who for reasons of skin color, lack of education and other factors are impoverished and need better mass transit to get better work opportunities."

"Actually, the reverse of this is true. The new employment opportunities opening up for these people -- Negroes, newcomers without much skill -- are in growth industries being built on the outskirts of the city. These new, open sites are not readily accessible to mass rail transit, just the automobile, and these people do not have automobiles."

"So, the mass rail transit system does not help. In fact, you might say that relying on it reduces employment opportunities for these classes of people."

"By contrast, an individualized system that could take them to a variety of places would not lock them into one area of the city. Rather, it would open up ways for them to reach these new growth industries and employment opportunities."

## BART alternatives

"Hence, the majority of the people in our field (total transportation) are now seeking alternatives to mass transit as well as the automobile. The reason is a recognition that the transportation systems we are now building should be responsive to the existing needs of societies today and in the future."



1968 — George Gardiner Bay Guardian Company

## The experts say

"The mass rail transit system is a dog and we had better get away from it."

"BART is a 19th-Century system with a few modern embellishments to make it appear futuristic."

"What's the use of spending so much money on an automated train that averages 55 miles an hour if it doesn't make adequate station stops? ... The few trunk lines of BART are totally inadequate."

"BART's engineers are terribly out of date, terribly old-fashioned and conservative and completely unimaginative. The people on BART's board of directors are totally incompetent to direct a transportation system of this magnitude."

"We had a magnificent opportunity here in the Bay Area to get the Federal Government in on a model pilot project that will meet future transportation needs of the whole nation, and we lost it."

Co. His job at Ford is to develop new transit systems, not necessarily for autos, as part of the move by auto manufacturers to get into mass transit.)

(General Motors has designed a train to run on special guideways and air cushion pads rather than steel wheels on steel rails. This kind of train is being constructed in Great Britain, France and Germany and will be the train of the future for those who continue to use trains.)

BART's directors have heard many times from Wohl. He has been ignored, like Garrison and the others.

## 19th century

"BART is a 19th-Century system with a few modern embellishments to make it appear futuristic," Wohl told me. "Despite these embellishments, BART remains basically a train moving on a track on a fixed line, totally inflexible. By choosing this outdated method of transportation, the Bay Area has locked itself into an unchanging, immobile system that will be in stark contrast to the highly mobile society that it will serve."

"As decentralization (move to the suburbs and elsewhere) takes place, as industries relocate and people go to the new places to find work and live, as shopping areas change, the rail system remains the same. And then it becomes obsolete. We need a flexible system of transportation."

Many top urban and regional planners, at odds with transportation experts on the centralization versus decentralization issue, are also having second thoughts about fixed rail systems. For example, here is the view of William L. C. Wheaton, dean of the College of Environmental Design at the University of California, Berkeley. He's on the top of anyone's list as an authority in the field.

"First of all, you have to understand that there is a split between city and regional planners and the transportation experts. Virtually all city and regional planners want to strengthen the central business districts. Central banking, financing and the like, are naturally centered downtown."

"Now, for the most part, Wohl and Meyer are right. Decentralization is the wave of the future. But even if a fraction of the future growth is not decentralized -- let's say 1/20th of the growth is in the central business district -- even that will cause a horrible traffic mess in the next 15 years unless we have a mass rapid transit system to siphon off the automobiles."

## Individualized system

"Nevertheless, I agree with Wohl and Meyer to this extent: I firmly believe that these mass systems will be individualized in the future."

What individualized systems? "I have in mind an automated, electric-powered, individual vehicle which has already been developed. It's about the size of a golf cart with a plastic dome."

"You drive from your house to a track station, where you pull a lever and are hooked onto a track with maybe 25 or 30 other cars, bunched together like a train, and then you are whisked along the track at 60 miles an hour. The cars are then unbunched at your destination in the heart of the city. Then you drive the car through a tube to your office, push a button and the car

— continued on page 7

"Three decades ago, mass rail transit made sense. Today, it no longer makes sense. The majority of the people have rejected it in favor of the automobile. They should not be forced to go back to mass rail transit to solve the automobile problem."

"There are alternatives to both that fit the individualized needs of modern society and provide the flexibility and variety demanded by a civilization with ever greater resources and intelligence. Some of these alternatives have been studied and there is now enough justification to attempt to build them, and yet we're not."

The most comprehensive book

## Part 4 of The Guardian's BART probe

This is the concluding installment of Burton Wolfe's four part investigation of the Bay Area Rapid Transit system. To get a complete set, send \$1 with your name and address to The SF Bay Guardian, 1070 Bryant St., SF, 94103.

on this subject now in print is The Urban Transportation Problem (Harvard University Press, 1965) by Prof. John Meyer of Harvard, Prof. Martin Wohl, formerly of the University of California and John Kain of the Rand Corporation. Like Garrison, they are tops on the list of the nation's total transportation experts.

They propose several alternatives to BART's fixed rail system. As temporary measures, they suggest buses running on reserved lanes of freeways, or small specialized commuting automobiles.

For the long haul, they propose electric cars that run from

will deal with a very small part of the total transportation problems in the Bay Area. It will probably attract less patronage than planned and hoped for. And it will re-create many of the problems which conventional rail transit systems have had in the past. I refer you to the arguments advanced along these lines by Prof. Martin Wohl, who is one of the country's most thoughtful students of urban transportation problems."

(I talked to Wohl while he was at Cal. He is now director of the Transportation Analysis Department, Transportation Research and Planning Office, Ford Motor



expensive, inefficient, unimaginative, discriminatory and unpopular

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Mick Stevens



## 'All suggestions for bold, new transit systems were put into a BART nut file'

### Guardian's series angers some prominent critics

#### To the editor:

Burton Wolfe's article "Why BART Is Broke" was brought to my attention by an irate citizen who worked with us on the campaign in 1962. He is irate because Wolfe implies that our organization, Citizens for Rapid Transit, misled the public.

So I read the piece and got almost as irate as he did. Almost, I say, because so much of Wolfe's drivel is old drivel, to which I have been exposed over the years since we won that campaign.

Like the drivel that \$792 million was not the cost of the rapid transit bond issue because it didn't include the interest.

In any bond-issue campaign (I've run four of them) you don't quote the interest, only the principal. People who sell bonds know they don't get the money for nothing. In any case, at the time that the voters are asked to authorize the issuance of bonds there's no way of predicting accurately what the interest rate will be.

Wolfe's statement: "Property taxes were to pay off only the interest on these bonds" is an irresponsible lie. Property taxes are being used to pay off the interest and principal--to retire the bonds.

To know this, Wolfe had only to look at the Composite Report, the document setting forth the details of the BART plan, on which the bond issue went to the voters. Perhaps he did. In any case, his editor should have checked on such an outrageous statement.

#### Political reality

The political reality is that even if the bonds had been priced much higher, say a billion and a half, the voters would still have approved them. They voted for rapid transit and against automobile congestion. And they are getting what they voted for.

Speakers supplied by Citizens for Rapid Transit spoke to hundreds of meetings in the three counties during the 1962 campaign. I myself made many of these speeches.

To my knowledge, none of us ever attempted to obscure the obvious fact that there would be interest costs on the bonds. Actually, we made it our practice

to quote the actual tax-rate increase, which included, of course, both interest and principal.

We weren't misleading.

But Wolfe is. In his second paragraph, while we're still in the big type, he refers to the "big nine-county system originally proposed and presented to the taxpayers at the start of the campaign."

This is presumably to make people think they've been cheated because BART is only a three-county system.

The fact is, there never was a "nine-county system proposed and presented to taxpayers." The system had been cut to five counties by 1961, when San Mateo withdrew, and then, reluctantly, Marin. The 1962 campaign was a three-county campaign from its outset. As Wolfe damned well knows.

On that "little publicized taxpayers suit" of 1963: I find it hard to believe that Dave Birenbaum, who impressed me as a pretty good and honest lawyer, could actually have told Wolfe that his suit against BART and the Citizens' Committee was dismissed "on technical grounds."

#### 'Technical,' indeed!

"Technical grounds," indeed! The judge found every point in the suit unproved, unjustified, unworthy. The plaintiffs were ordered to pay the defendants' costs. To quote the court decision: "Plaintiffs take nothing by their complaint."

Here I would have to differ with the judge. The plaintiffs took something. They took eight precious months from the BART schedule, and no small part of the deficit today is due to that initial delay.

A more personal note: It always grieves me when Bill Stokes is cited as "former BART public relations director in charge of getting the bond issue passed." It grieves me because Bill Stokes did not run that campaign; I did.

In that same notorious taxpayers' suit, the judge unequivocally rejected the charge that BART or Stokes ran the campaign. (This information, of course, was available to Wolfe.)

Now, as to those campaign contributions: The childish naive implication that the contributors to the campaign were

—continued from page 6

goes away. After work you insert a card in an electronic system, and the car comes back.

"This device may be the only way to get into downtown conveniently 30 years from now, and the unit cost, operation and maintenance, will be much less than for an ordinary car. Probably you won't even own the car. You'll rent it at a very low monthly rate."

Now for the \$2 billion question, or maybe the \$20 billion question, depending on the ultimate size and cost of a nine-county BART system. Why are we building the BART fixed rail system, conceived at the turn of the century and last modified in 1953, instead of some truly futuristic system?

Walter Douglas, senior partner of Parsons, Brinckerhoff, Quade & Douglas--the firm that designed the Manhattan subway at the turn of the century and modified it for San Francisco in 1953--refuses to answer any questions. All inquiries he refers to BART's general manager.

The general manager is B. R. Stokes, a former \$7,500 a year reporter for the Oakland Tribune, now holding down the top BART job at \$35,000 a year.

"Were any other systems even considered?" I asked Stokes.

"Oh, we had all kinds of proposals come in here from all kinds of nuts," he replied. "Monorails, hydrofoils, all kinds of things. You should see some of them. We made up a nut file for them. We put them all in the nut file."

"It could only be a fixed rail system?" I asked.

"Well, that's the only one we knew would work."

For a comment on that point, I questioned Dr. Robert Oliver, chairman of the Industrial Engineering Department at the University of California. His specialty is called operations research--the engineering side, the nuts and bolts details--and he is a nationally recognized expert in this side of transportation systems. In BART's early days, he argued repeatedly but unsuccessfully for construction of a different system.

"Actually, Stokes has a point," Oliver said. "We know that the train system works, that it's safe, dependable. All the other systems are untried. The point, however, is that the train has been tried, too, and people have stopped using it."

#### Connectability

"Now, you can jazz up a train all you want--get it to go 100 miles an hour, put on automated

controls, paint it yellow--and it doesn't mean a damn thing unless you have connectability. When BART was designed, I went before the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco and I warned them that they were not getting connectability--proper and sufficient connecting and transfer points.

"What's the use of spending so much money on an automated train that averages 55 miles an hour if it doesn't make adequate station stops? If you're going back to an outdated train system, you might as well just use the existing Southern Pacific Railroad tracks or an old train that goes 30 miles an hour and stops where people can get on it. At least it wouldn't be so costly."

"Of course, most of the tracks have been torn up around the Bay Area, but BART isn't going to change that much, either. The few trunk lines of BART are totally inadequate. You're going to have to spend a great deal more money to get enough lines to make this a total transportation system."

(My belief is that BART will have to spend \$20 billion to loop the Bay Area's nine counties, construct enough trunk lines and

station stops to serve a large number of people and come anywhere near being a total transportation system.--B.H.W.)

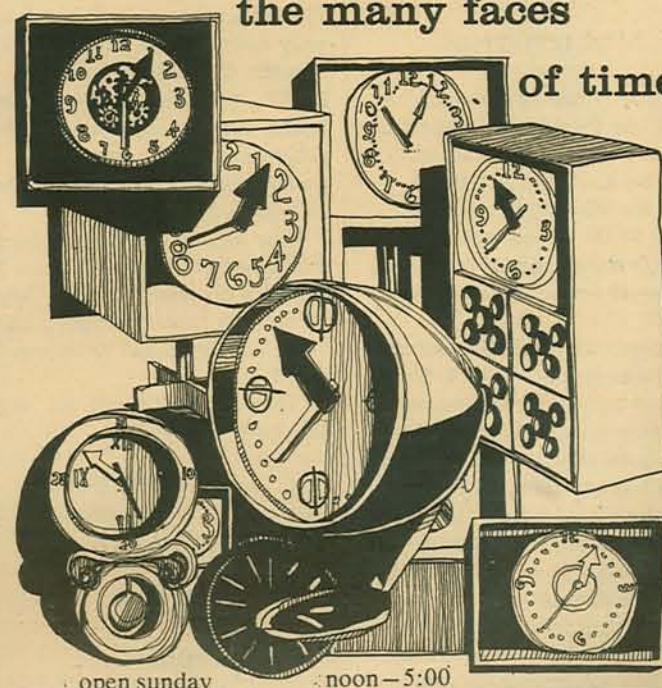
"And if you're going to do that, why not spend a bit more money and a few years working the bugs out of some of these modern systems, like the electric car that can come onto an automated highway from any point and get off and go to any point without transfer?"

"Now, this is a system really worth spending the money to build, and we can build it. You give me the technical specifications of any system you want--any system--and I will find you engineers in this country who can build it."

"Bart's engineers are terribly out of date, terribly old-fashioned and conservative, and completely unimaginative. The people on BART's board of directors are totally incompetent to direct a transportation system of this magnitude. We had a magnificent opportunity here in the Bay Area to get the Federal Government in on a model pilot project that will meet future transportation needs of the whole nation, and we lost it."

—continued on page 15

### the many faces of time



battery clocks electric clocks  
digital clocks calendar clocks  
alarm clocks wind-up clocks  
desk clocks wall clocks  
plain (but not ordinary) clocks  
come take one home.

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mon. - wed. - sat.  
10:00 - 5:30  
thurs. - fri.  
11:00 - 9:00



# Bringing up Hayakawa

When John Summerskill dropped out as president of SF State last February, The Guardian said:

"Next time, when the classroom liberal is chosen for high educational office, let us trust he has not only Summerskill's virtues of intellect, personality and outlook, but that he has the courage and stamina to fight the good fight. The concept of college administration by dialogue and goodwill, we are sorry to report, must be suspended for the duration."

Well, State's Aristotle on the ramparts, S. I. Hayakawa, has suspended most everything except force for the duration.

Undoubtedly, he's in a tough spot, just as Summerskill and Smith were, but he has shown graphically by what he's done and by what he hasn't done that he even lacks their basic understanding and sympathy with many of the black/radical demands.

None of the three (Smith was learning) had what it takes: the capacity for strong liberal leadership and the political savvy to make it work and to make all principals see that it works. Hayakawa's so policitally naive and

unsophisticated that he didn't know who his political representatives were in San Francisco and didn't know who Sen. George Moscone was, or who he represented, when he ran into him in city hall.

As long as the U.S. wages a vicious, illegal and totally unjustifiable war, as long as American youth are drafted unwillingly to fight it, as long as they are penalized by the courts and by selective service for resisting the draft, as long as the young are kept from voting and the minorities from getting a full share of society, as long as Hayakawa, Alioto and Reagan insist on a policy of whatever force is necessary, as long as the legitimate demands of the blacks and radicals are not met--society and the colleges and San Francisco State cannot demand the other half of the rule of "law and order"--which is obedient complicity at best and non-violent protest at worst.

As a newspaper with roots in the traditions of reason, tolerance and democratic dissent, it is difficult for us not to say: No more bricks, no more violence, let's do it our way, but slowly

and peacefully. We would like to do it this way.

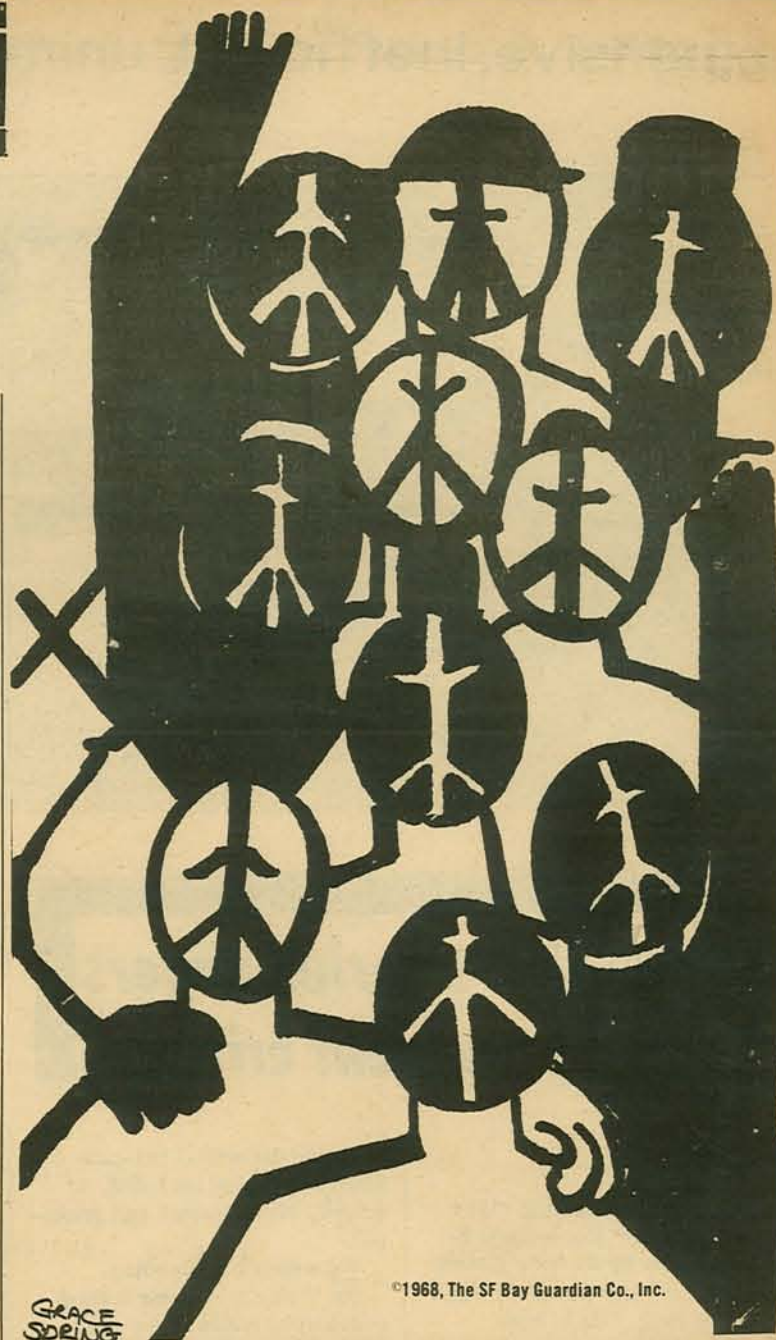
But this isn't in the cards anymore, at SF State, at San Mateo College, at California State at Hayward, at Columbia. For if our history and culture have any meaning, it is that the old preserve society for the young, and what the young are telling us is unmistakably clear: Bring in all men, the black, the poor, the young, the disadvantaged into society now. Get more blacks into State, give them a Black Study program, give it money and autonomy and purpose.

A society that fears its young, a college president that fears his college students and addresses them in newsspeak from a loudspeaker, is sick unto death.

Let the Hayakawas, the Aliotos, the Reagans, the trustees recall the words of John F. Kennedy:

"Those who make peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable."

For, as Prof. A.K. Bierman's page 1 story makes clear, peaceful revolution at State has been thwarted again and again, and with Hayakawa is now impossible.



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automatically awarded big contracts is more drivell. Of course, somebody who's likely to sell a lot of steel or concrete or construction or engineering is interested in seeing that a \$792 million job comes on the market.

## Not a nickel

But, if Wolfe had wanted to be fair he might have checked the list of BART contractors and seen how many of them there are who never gave a nickel to the campaign. There were plenty of contributors, too, who never got a nickel out of BART.

Incidentally, Wolfe promises that his next piece will talk of the new transport systems designed by Westinghouse and General Electric -- systems that BART has rejected, according to Wolfe's own statement. But Westinghouse, according to Wolfe, was one of BART's biggest contributors!

Frankly, this could go on and on. The BART story by Wolfe is full of misstatements, misconceptions, and sheer nonsense. Such as the implication that Ken Hoover was retired as chief engineer "because of the controversy over his embarrassing lack of engineering qualifications." He retired for reasons of health, as his Cleveland cardiologist can testify.

I have confined my remarks to those areas of the Wolfe article where I have personal knowledge. The animadversions about the engineers' fees, etc., are not my business to refute, if indeed,

they're worth refuting. It might be mentioned, however, that much of his allegation and insinuation was specifically rejected in the decision in that famous "little publicized" taxpayers' suit.

When you propose another "investigation of BART," I can only snort. That taxpayers' suit was the first investigation of BART. There have been many others since, including the definitive one by the legislative analyst, which found no evidence of wrongdoing.

Now Mr. Wolfe has conducted still another. He has spread his findings on your record. Outside of his own smeary fingerprints, there doesn't seem to be much there.

Let's let BART get on with the job? Please?

HENRY W. ALEXANDER  
Public Relations  
San Francisco

## Wolfe replies:

Alexander has only one partially accurate minor point in his letter. It concerns what property taxes are to be used for. Citizens for Rapid Transit said that "rapid transit" would cost only \$792 million, to be paid for out of property taxes.

I said this sum would be paid by general obligation bonds, not property taxes. My statement remains accurate. Most of the \$792 million has been spent. How could it have been paid for out of property taxes? The gen-

eral obligation bonds covered it, not property taxes.

Now we come to the tricky point. Of course property taxes do cover the principal plus interest in the payoff of the bonds, not just the interest. This error resulted from confusion in the transcription of my notes, not an "irresponsible lie." It's a bad error, but does not change my story in any way.

## He's wrong

Alexander is wrong about everything else, to wit:

Failure to include the interest is not the only reason why the cost of rapid transit (we are talking about rapid transit, not about the rapid transit bond issue) was not \$792 million. I cited the other reasons in my story.

It is possible to estimate the interest on a bond issue for the public.

The voters are not "getting what they voted for," as explained in the third article of my series. If it is true they were voting for rapid transit in order to be against automobile congestion, they would have voted down the bond issue had they had access to facts about BART which would have shown them conclusively that BART would not eliminate automobile congestion. The cost of doing so would not be \$1 1/2 billion, as Alexander suggests, but somewhere between \$12 and \$20 billion. Alexander crucifies himself here.

Not long before the election, brochures for BART still showed trunk lines running to places where they would not run for \$792 million. Nevertheless, I did not intend to imply and in fact I did not imply in my article that Citizens for Rapid Transit was telling the voters they were getting a nine-county system. But at one time, a nine-county system certainly was proposed.

Dave Birenbaum told me the suit was dismissed on technical grounds. But I would have said that whether Birenbaum told me

or not. I repeat: technical grounds.

Too bad the suit couldn't take 80 months instead of 8. It would have saved the people of the Bay Area more than \$2 billion that is now going down the drain for an obsolete system.

Alexander ran the Citizens for Rapid Transit campaign. Stokes ran the BART campaign. Letters that he sent to major contributors after it was over showed the role that he played.

## Hanky panky

When I discussed in my article how the biggest contributors to the BART campaign came off with the biggest contracts, I wound up with the statement that it was all undoubtedly a funny coincidence. Wallace Johnson of Berkeley, a director of BART, must be childish and full of drivel for suggesting himself that BART hanky panky be investigated.

There are some BART contractors who never gave a nickel to the campaign, but they are not the big contractors. The major contributors are getting their nickel out of BART, multiplied by millions.

General Electric and Westinghouse will build any kind of

system, so long as it makes money for them. They contributed to BART and are getting their money out of it multiplied many times in profits. They have been paid to dream up the new systems; they didn't do it for nothing.

If Hoover retired for health reasons, why is he still being paid BART money to serve as a consultant to BART through PBTB?

None of the facts I have stated about the engineer's fee were refuted in the taxpayer's suit.

There has been no investigation of BART of the kind I propose. I am proposing that BART be investigated for collusion with PBTB, misuse of funds, and in short blowing the whole operation.

Since Alexander has not dealt with the major points of my article, he has refuted nothing. The taxpayers were told rapid transit would cost \$792 million, and it is costing more than \$2 billion. They were told it would eliminate congestion and air pollution, and it is not. Let's see Alexander refute that.

Let's not let BART get on with the job. Let's send BART back to the 19th Century, where it belongs.

## THE BAY GUARDIAN

"It is a newspaper's duty to print the news, and raise hell." (Wilbur F. Storey: Statement of the aims of the Chicago Times, 1861.)

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# How the East Bay papers bottled up Bob Hannon's drunk driving charges

By Bruce B. Brugmann

Herb Caen's item appeared in the Chronicle on June 20, 1968: "The E. Bay politico who has been picked up twice on drunk-driving charges might want to know that his record isn't as 'lost' as he thinks it is; his opponents have a little juice, too. . ."

This was the first public reference to Supv. Robert E. Hannon, Alameda County's Republican "law enforcement" candidate for state senator, and his two drunk driving scrapes in the East Bay.

It would have been the last public reference, despite the fact it sizzled underground for months in the critical East Bay campaign, if the Chronicle's Bill Thomas hadn't broken the story two weeks before the election.

The 39-year-old legislator, Thomas documented neatly, had on June 9 escaped a drunk driving arrest through the intercession of a friendly Alameda County Sheriff's official and had, a month earlier, run a county car off a freeway ramp at 3:30 a.m. and demolished a highway sign and cyclone fence.

The story immediately became a major campaign issue, partly because of Hannon's mistake in calling a press conference and in effect forcing East Bay papers to cover the story. Hannon lost by 35,000 votes to his incumbent opponent, Sen. Nicholas Petris.

The question: why did a June 9 drunken driving incident, duly

noted by Caen on June 20, rocket into the headlines just two weeks before the election? Was it indeed the vicious smear Hannon claimed?

After four weeks of investigation and talking with almost all principals, I have determined that: (1) The East Bay papers, notably the Oakland Tribune and the Hayward Daily Review chain, suppressed the story for political reasons; (2) The Chronicle performed a valuable, but unfortunately belated, public service in breaking it wide open.

For your information: This is a comparison of the campaign coverage in news stories given Max Rafferty and Alan Cranston by the Oakland Tribune and the San Francisco Chronicle. The Tribune endorsed Rafferty, the Chronicle endorsed Cranston. The figures were compiled by Patricia Kramer and speak for themselves.

	CRANSTON	RAFFERTY
TRIBUNE		
Oct. 1 thru Oct. 4	15"	54"
Oct. 6 & 7	—	75"
Oct. 10 thru Oct. 16	14½"	63"
Oct. 22, 24, 25	22"	56¼"
Oct. 28 thru Oct. 31	17½"	80½"
TOTAL	69"	328¼"
AVERAGE PER DAY	3½"	16½"
CHRONICLE		
Oct. 1 thru Oct. 5	55"	91"
Oct. 7 thru Oct. 11	19½"	37"
Oct. 28 thru Oct. 30	43"	7¼"
TOTAL	117½"	135¼"
AVERAGE PER DAY	9"	10"

## Manila Rapists Get Death

MANILA (UPI) — A woman judge found four playboys from wealthy families guilty Saturday of kidnaping and raping a pretty actress and sentenced them to death in a verdict read on a nationwide radio network.

The defendants were stunned.

The victim, 24-year-old Maggie de la Riva, heard the verdict at home and said she feels vindicated.

"I hope this will be a deterrent to sex maniacs," she said.

Then she burst into tears.

The verdict by Judge Lourdes San Diego in suburban



One of the few pictures the Oakland Tribune has run of Sen. Nicholas Petris D-Oakland.. Here Petris, right, and his wife, Anna, are shown with State Supreme Court Justice Stanley Mosk at a Petris testimonial dinner.

The East Bay papers did know about the incident; most were called by police sources and told about the story (with specifics about Hannon's property receipts, the erasing of the arrest record, the writing in on the record of another man's name). The sources later called back and asked why the story wasn't printed.

Three days after the incident, a top Oakland Tribune reporter heard about it outside Oakland and quickly notified his desk. The desk had checked out the story, he was told, but the Tribune wasn't going to run it.

It is important to remember that Hannon, throughout his campaign, bellowed loudly for "law and order" and sniped at Petris for supporting legislation he charged would undermine law enforcement.

More: East Bay papers long have thrashed and bashed Petris about --he's an articulate liberal Democrat afloat in a swamp of conservative Republican and conservative Democratic newspapers. (Abe Kofman's properties in Ala-

meda and San Leandro) that still carry 54-40 or fight on their mastheads.

They slight him on publicity, blame higher taxes on his AB80 tax bill, criticize him (as did the Fremont Argus's 19-year-old political editor, Ken Castle) for sending out a handful of campaign press releases at taxpayers' expense. (The tab: \$8 for postage.)

Meanwhile, Petris had been appraised of the Hannon incidents, but decided to do nothing about them. However, an aide did plant the blind Herb Caen item. Another tip, coming to the Chronicle's police reporter, Charles Raudebaugh, prompted Executive City Editor Abe Mellinkoff to dispatch a reporter to look into Hannon's arrests.

He got most of the story, but went on vacation before he completed his investigation. He turned in a memo, but it was lost beneath a blizzard of other hard-hitting memos swirling over the city desk.

A few weeks before the election, the Chronicle was tipped

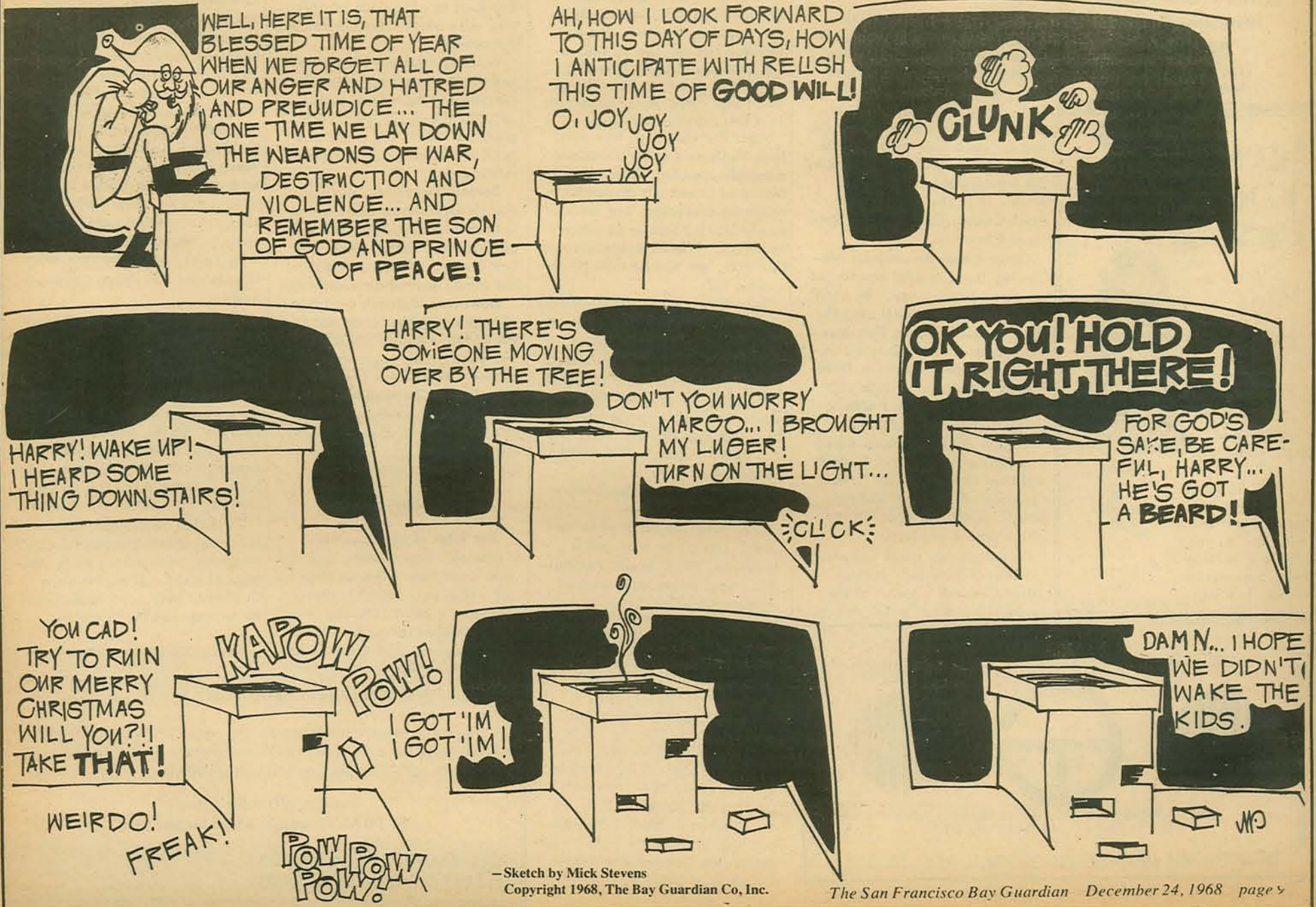
again. Mellinkoff assigned Thomas. To his embarrassment, Thomas found he was following the months old tracks of a Chronicle colleague.

He then got the information from the other reporter, did some more checking, confronted Hannon, then wrote the story. Hannon was mad, asked Thomas and later Scott Newhall, Chronicle executive editor, to suppress the story.

Newhall refused and it ran on page 3 (partly because of the embarrassing time delay, probably because of some merit to Hannon's late-in-the-campaign smear complaint) instead of on page 1 where a story like this belongs.

Even now the East Bay papers shied away--claiming the Hannon incident was nothing more than a last-minute Petris smear. Only the Montclairion, a good Oakland weekly, did the story fairly. Kofman summed it all up in his editorial pidgin English:

"Happy in the fact Alameda County had nothing to do with starting Hannon story..." (San Leandro News).



—Sketch by Mick Stevens  
Copyright 1968, The Bay Guardian Co., Inc.



# Something strange is happening in Northern California politics

By Rod Minott

(Minott is the author of "The Sinking of the Lollipop," a Diablo Press book on the McCloskey-Shirley Temple congressional race. He also worked in both McCloskey and Cranston campaigns. Minott is dean of humanities, California State College, Hayward.)

They are an "odd couple", politically speaking.

But the victories of Cranston and McCloskey show that a coalition of liberal Democrats and Republicans can gain political control in California and that, despite Southern California's numerical superiority, the North can regain its dominance over the South.

Within the past six years Southern California's Max Rafferty, George Murphy and Ronald Reagan have rocketed to power. Yet, in the past 12 months, Northern California's Joe Alioto, Pete McCloskey and Alan Cranston have won crucial victories over conservative opponents and they have done so by borrowing liberally from the voters of each other's parties.

Something is happening and it's happening in Northern California.

## Shirley Temple

In 1967, in his upset race against Shirley Temple Black, McCloskey unwittingly put together a coalition of Republicans and Democrats representing something more than a unified bloc of moderates. First, they came from middle- and upper-middle class strata of Peninsula society; they were thus wealthy, highly educated and zealous.

They were concerned about the quality of society and their concerns ran from conservation of natural resources to conservation of human resources in the black ghetto and overseas. Some were hawks on Vietnam, more were dovish. All were agitated by the war. And they were,

many of them, affronted by Shirley Black's candidacy. Not because of her personally, but because of her arrogant entry into the campaign and her poverty of background and training.

Having seized victory between December and June, McCloskey's gifted amateurs fell into a familiar behavior pattern. They didn't realize that politics is a continuum. For six months last winter and spring, they dismantled his organization, stopped fund raising, rusticated vast numbers of his Democratic supporters and released from service the organization's only resident pro-Sanford Weiner. (Weiner, an LA refugee and one of the men responsible for guiding George Murphy to the U.S. Senate, operates a political public relations firm in Menlo Park.) McCloskey almost had no campaign effort at all in the June 4 primary except for a last-minute telephone blitz. It saved his political life.

Chagrined, McCloskey, during the summer, painstakingly rebuilt his organization. This time there was no disparaging talk of either Democrats or professionals. The former were enticed back into the organization by personal contact, and an out-of-state professional political management firm, "Campaigns West" of Portland, Oregon, was retained. An old friend and public relations expert, Robin Schmidt of San Diego, became McCloskey's Administrative Assistant and then shifted payrolls to assume the task of campaign director. Using computer techniques to identify the vote, plus a total campaign budget of \$70,000, the McCloskey force swamped Urban Whitaker. In the Democratic primary, Whitaker had been unopposed and had received around 56,000 votes. Five months later, he was lucky to get 40,000 against McCloskey's coalition. San Mateo County went solidly for Humphrey, Cranston and—McCloskey.

## Weiner's influence

Weiner was a curious link between the two campaigns. As McCloskey's only pro, he went through the campaign without being fully aware of what the McCloskey campaign force represented. As a Republican, he was no less affronted than some of McCloskey's closest friends by the trumpeting of Robert L. Coate, then the Democratic State Central Committee's Northern Chairman.

Coate stated the obvious: McCloskey lived or died courtesy of the Democratic party. By early spring, Weiner himself sang the same song. Weiner's Democratic friends in McCloskey's campaign made him known to Democratic leaders and, during the winter, Cranston asked him to help his primary campaign.

Weiner declined, concluding that Kuchel would beat Rafferty and then Cranston. But he and Cranston's Southern California group kept in touch up to the eve of the June 4 primary.

On the ghastly night and early morning of June 4-5, Weiner called Cranston's forces at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles

as Kuchel was losing. Fifteen minutes after Robert F. Kennedy was shot in the Ambassador, Eli Broad of Los Angeles, a major Cranston backer, called Weiner in Menlo Park.

## A ghastly night

They talked, then Cranston spoke to Weiner. After hanging up, Weiner and a few Democratic friends discussed the assassination and Kuchel's defeat. The group, conditioned by McCloskey's experience, talked about the necessity of coalition politics. On June 5, Weiner met in Los Angeles with Broad and Cranston. He was hired by the Cranston forces, but his status was ill-defined.

Cranston's group brought the concept of a coalition campaign named "Californians for Cranston", nicknamed "Gopacrat", but the idea was not at first embraced enthusiastically by many Democrats. And Weiner himself became a point of contention in the campaign. Cranston's old friends, especially in Los Angeles, the ones who had suffered through the Stevensonian defeats and formed the CDC, were outraged by a Republican campaign director and strategist in a Democrat's campaign.

After the campaign was over, Jack McDowell in the Examiner correctly credited Weiner as a key author of Cranston's successful coalition campaign, but inaccurately labeled him as Cranston's "manager." Wiener never claimed this title, nor was he ever given a clear title.

Even this inadvertence, however, angered Krebs and LA Democrats.

There was a psychological obstacle. For years, Democrats have operated on the theory that, if they got a large indiscriminate Democratic vote to the polls, they could swamp the GOP. Reagan's 1966 victory was too often dismissed as a fluke based almost entirely upon Pat Brown's unpopularity.

The fact that blocs of Democrats, especially blue collar unionists, might prefer Republican conservative policies over Democratic liberal ones was hard to accept. Republicans, faced with the arithmetic of being a numerically smaller party, have long attempted to put together coalition campaigns while assiduously organizing within their party. Earl Warren, Goodwin Knight, Robert Finch, Thomas Kuchel, George Murphy, even Reagan, have won with Democratic support. Now, in the summer of 1968, a Republican was advising the state's most prominent Democrat to follow Republican practice.

# Cranston, McCloskey — the new coalition

Northern California Democrats, due in large part to Coate and Alioto and McCloskey campaign principals, took to the idea more readily. Alioto supporters working for Cranston remembered how well he had pulled among San Francisco Republicans. McCloskey's example had fascinated vast numbers of local Democrats. Still, when an order went out that former Inheritance Tax Appraisers appointed by Cranston during his tenure as the State Controller could not be appointed as County Campaign Chairmen, there were many hurt feelings. Cranston's Democratic purists bore a distinct resemblance to McCloskey's Republican advisors.

But the main problem—as always—lay in the southland. Southern California is Republican territory save for Los Angeles County, but Los Angeles Democrats are especially fractious and disorganized. To the end, organizationally speaking, Los Angeles failed to match the Bay Area in efficiency of operation even while Cranston carried the county.

Weiner, after advancing the campaign's concept, virtually disappeared from view after July as LA democrats sought to downgrade his role. His name was not even listed on a headquarters roster.

Behind the scenes, Weiner was responsible for enticing big league Republican support including Mrs. Joseph Shell and Lee Sherry. He also controlled the media part of the campaign.

However, Weiner's coalition plan gained rather dramatic favor in late summer when private and public polls began to show Cranston would pull heavily from Kuchel Republicans. Of special note: a private poll showed Rafferty might get an estimated 36% of the blue collar Democratic vote.

## Cranston plan

For most of the campaign, Cranston's organization kept itself aloof from other Democratic campaigns, notably Humphrey's, a point of further irritation within the party. But the

strategy was working. Kennedy's death and McCarthy's Chicago brought hundreds of their workers into Cranston's campaign. Humphrey had no comparable organization. Then Humphrey came on strong during October.

Coincidental with Humphrey's upsurge was the "Clever issue." The fight between UC Berkeley, the Cal Regents and Reagan was the one issue that terrified Cranston's campaign staff. It was a problem nobody could control.

With three weeks to go, Cranston's campaign flattened out, as Rafferty's support, like Humphrey's, grew. Cranston's organization now found it much to its advantage to regain momentum by re-knitting relations with other Democratic organizations and ride the Humphrey surge. Cranston's campaign tied in its final "get-out-the-vote" program with other Democratic groups by donating money, personnel, instructions and materials. The whole effort was especially effective in the Bay Area, Sacramento and in Fresno in large part due to the last minute fund-raising activities of Coate, a Humphrey committee co-chairman and Libby Gatov, longtime party leader. They filled a void left by Roger Boas, State Democratic chairman, who did little to aid the Vice-President's campaign, much to the consternation of many party workers.

Still, the Cranston "GOTV" plan was schizoid; for many workers, especially in the Bay Area, were Kuchel Republicans. The orders: Republicans were to work only Republican precincts while Democrats could work on a Democratic slate basis. Somehow it worked.

Cranston lost in his total vote in Southern California save for Los Angeles County, where, due to a last-minute well-conducted "GOTV" program carried out by the Humphrey campaign, Cranston benefited more than the Vice-President. In the fifty counties outside of the south Cranston did handsomely. Northern Californians enjoyed the rare experience of seeing their section of the state defeat a popular, conservative Southern Californian. Cranston and Humphrey both came out of the north with a margin of around 160,000 votes. But to those 160,000, Cranston was able to add approximately 100,000 Republican votes. This total northern vote offset Orange and San Diego Counties' votes.

Both Cranston and McCloskey have indicated since the election that they do not want to be confined by party lines. Both plan depth studies of state-wide voting patterns, and it is very likely that Jess Unruh, Joe Alioto, John Tunney and Dennis Carpenter, upcoming GOP state chairman, are looking at the same figures Cranston and McCloskey are studying.

Coalition campaigns could well be a prominent feature of the 1970 elections, with all top state positions at stake. If so, Northern California may once again hold its own against the Southland.

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## Rosalinda (Civic Light Opera)

## Fra Diavolo (San Francisco Opera)

# A 'happy plink' - SF opera season ends

You'd think if any corny old operetta could make it with a modern audience, "Rosalinda" could. It has a plot still wittier than most, characters that allow performers to sing beautifully and act charmingly and Strauss melodies as delightful as ever to anyone over 30.

But the "Rosalinda" that closed the Civic Light Opera season was a disaster mitigated only by 20 minutes or so of the Wiere Brothers, whose familiar, elem-

entary and classic routines are still genuinely funny.

Not even the music seemed sparkling or captivating. Cyril Ritchard, who surely must know this style and this role as well as he knows his name, showed a strange uncertainty, especially in the songs. He is a practiced operetta performer who should triumph over the inadequacies of his singing voice by the charm and mastery of his style.

This time he seemed to be only an inadequate singer who missed all the rehearsals.

Other performers were barely adequate, helped by heavy-handed direction to look like a bunch of amateurs.

The one exception to this pedestrian display was Hans Conreid, whose insufferable performance reached some pinnacle of ineptitude. His sloppy accent, arch and patronizing cuteness,

gross mugging and heavy delivery of lines already too heavy, all combined to form a melange of wrongness that almost became a brilliant parody of an old-fashioned operetta stereotype. But not quite. It was just insufferable.

### Modern Antique

This "modern" version of "Die Fledermaus" is by now as antiquated as the original. All the actors might have done better with sharpened, rejuvenated lyrics and lines.

But I suppose that a producer who spends as much time and effort on costumes and sets as he does can hardly be expected to notice that he isn't getting his money's worth from the writers. Or the directors. Or the performers.

The Light Opera might have made a great evening of "Rosalinda" by giving us an hour or so of the Wiere Brothers, then letting us go home early and listen to "Die Fledermaus" on a record.

### Happy Plink

While the Civic Light Opera season was ending with a whimper, the San Francisco Opera season was ending with, if not a bang, at least a happy plink: an inconsequential but pleasant comic opera by Auber, "Fra Diavolo."

The most important thing about it was the San Francisco debut of the Swedish tenor Nicolai Gedda and he was a treat. On opening night, Mary Costa

was too ill to sing the taxing role of the chambermaid but she acted it anyway, pantomiming to the voice of another soprano, who did her singing, if I can believe the press reports, in the orchestra pit.

Considering that as many local opera fans go to hear Mary Costa as go to see her, this asinine expedient must rank as one of the all-time great errors of judgement in musical and theatrical history, and I'm sorry to have missed it.

When I saw the opera a week later, Miss Costa, though not in the best of shape, nevertheless managed to make a ringing success of the flamboyant and difficult Petticoat Aria.

Comic opera is never quite as comic as it's supposed to be. The operatic style of acting is traditionally coarse, and singers are usually more grotesque than funny. But I must say that "Fra Diavolo" was much more amusing than "Rosalinda." Gedda's superb singing made it most rewarding.

# Incredible - nine movies in town worth seeing

Weekend (Surf)  
Shoes of the Fisherman (Penthouse)  
Romeo and Juliet (Stage Door)  
The Boston Strangler (Music Hall)  
Faces (Larkin)  
Head (Richelieu)  
Yellow Submarine (New Royal, Empire, Spruce Drive-In)  
Barbarella (New Alhambra)  
Finnegan's Wake (Cento Cedar)

By

Margo

Skinner



Incredibly, there are nine movies on the boards that should be seen! Did I write something earlier about a film renaissance?

Jean-Luc Godard's "Weekend" is an explosive, aborted masterpiece, like nothing you have been exposed to. Its searing images are with me yet: crumpled bodies on the highway, a pile of cinders that moments earlier was a girl, hippy-guerrillas in neo-Indian gear stalking through French woods for human flesh.

"Weekend" is the blackest of comedies. It is also a modern poem of violence: the violence of the Establishment, greedy, mechanical and impersonal; the opposing violence of youth in a world without conviction, which only knows what it is against.

Margo Skinner also reviews films for KCBS radio.

There is no Love Generation in "Weekend"—only viciousness on both sides of the generation gap. The film's extraordinary power is marred by a long dull Marxist anthropological polemic and some bad poetry, but it is still major cinematic art, with the giant anger of a Jonathan Swift.

"Shoes of the Fisherman" is also concerned with issues: poverty, atomic war and the related role of the Catholic Church. It is a big, beautiful film in resplendent color, with Vatican settings and pageantry magnificently recreated. Anthony

Quinn gives a strong, sympathetic performance as the Russian priest taken from a Siberian labor camp to become a Pope for our time. Oskar Werner, playing a character based on the great, controversial Father Teilhard di Chardin, is equally good.

Sir Lawrence Olivier is convincingly Slavic as the Russian Prime Minister, Vittorio de Sica and Sir John Gielgud head the fine supporting cast. "Shoes" has been called static; actually it is a drama of ideas, presented compellingly through dialogue and characterization.

There is an expendable subplot about the love-life of David Janssen, mediocre as a TV newsman. Newsreel shots of Vatican crowds are badly synchronized with the story. But "The Shoes of the Fisherman" is an important and moving film.

"The Boston Strangler," for what it is, is well nigh perfect. The most perverse materials are handled with directness and taste. This story of a sexual psychopath who murders 13 women is treated as a semi-documentary with mock TV newscasts woven into the narrative.

There's an interesting use of two frames on screen simultaneously as the mass murderer stalks his victims. Tony Curtis gives his best performance in the atypical role of the moody, introverted murderer, a different character from the con man charmer of the book, but equally interesting. Henry Fonda, as the states attorney who tracks him down heads an excellent cast.

I don't know whether "Faces" or "2001" is the best American

—continued on page 12



I'm almost resolved not to go see any more Shakespeare. "Romeo and Juliet" infuriated me. The first 20 minutes is incredibly good: dynamic, sensuously beautiful, a capturing of the living Renaissance, with superb photography, music, costumes and Italian locales.

Olivia Hussey, 15, is a fine Juliet, whose completely expressive face compensates for her rather undeveloped voice. Leonard Whiting, 17, is an attractive and noble Romeo. Other actors are fine, except for Milo O'Shea, a hammy Friar Lawrence. But Director Zeffirelli, like many another, somehow loses all perspective when confronted with climactic moments of Shakespeare.

The actors scream, weep and thresh about on the floor. If the beginning of "Romeo and Juliet" hadn't been so fine, I'd say forget it. As is, it's almost a clinical example of how well, and badly, Elizabethan drama can be done.

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# Where are the young, the poor, the brown and the black?

—continued from page 3

his statements are free from objection, his witnesses are not subject to cross examination."

## DA influence

Several persons have charged that lay grand juries are susceptible to the district attorney's influence and authority. As a San Francisco attorney told me privately, "I hardly think any of us are naive enough at this point to believe that the District Attorney's office is less concerned with their record of convictions and more concerned to see that justice prevails."

Brown said the district attorney "intimidates" lay juries. "He tells them horror stories about crime and criminals and of their duty to preserve the law. He intimates that he is only lifting a corner of the rug under which this seamy case is found. He tells them that no person aware of the facts, as he is, could do anything but vote to indict."

Said Krause: "I know I would much prefer to be indicted in a preliminary hearing than by a grand jury."

Brown's committee has proposed several measures to reform the statewide grand jury system.

The committee recommends that grand juries/jurors:

- be selected, like trial juries, from a list of names drawn at random from the rolls of registered voters;
- be paid \$25 to \$30, plus expenses, for each day of jury service;
- be able to hire its own staff counsel and other staff assistants;
- be empowered to select their own foremen and officers, thus giving them greater discretion and independence from presiding judges;
- be selected in halves every six months, thereby staggering one-year terms and giving the jury more continuity;
- give accused persons the right to be present with counsel while his case is being considered;
- repeal laws prohibiting defense evidence;
- be allowed to investigate city as well as county offices and pro-

grams;

●every six months all local government offices be required to report back to grand jury on action taken on jury recommendations.

Four of the committee's nine members issued a minority report that all grand jury powers of indictment should be eliminated from the Penal Code. The preliminary hearing process is a much more equitable method to initiate criminal proceedings and is not susceptible to undue influence from District Attorneys.

Legislative action on the committee's recommendations will depend primarily on the attitude of the Republican majority in the assembly next year. Brown will lose his committee chairmanship, but has said he would introduce legislation this session even if it doesn't have committee backing.

Meanwhile, things were stirred up in SF when a committee of Superior Court judges began studying possible changes in the nominating process last November.

But a couple days later on Nov. 6, the 24 judges in august assembly voted unanimously to retain themselves as nominators.

In announcing the judges' decision, presiding Superior Court Judge Charles S. Perry said, "We have been complying with the State Penal Code Section regarding the selection of such jurors." So they have, but this doesn't prohibit them from selecting nominees outside their circle of friends and associates.

The code says a superior court judge each year "shall make an order designating the estimated

number of grand jurors that will be required." Then it provides that judges will "select and list the grand jurors required." In short: judges can find nominees wherever they want and need not wait, as they keep saying, for new legislation.

San Francisco's federal grand jury has for years drawn its membership from registration rolls. Peery said, however, that "unlike a federal grand jury, a county grand jury has committees which study the various departments of the city and county and submit final reports." (See report quotes, p. 3). In other words these jurors must be carefully screened.

Through their one year nominee, the judges can tightly hold the reins on a grand jury and can prevent it from becoming a truly independent body with continuity and purpose. The city's only strong independent grand jury in recent years was the 1958 grand jury which exposed the \$20 million Candlestick Park Swindle. (See May 14, 1968 Guardian).

## North's jury

The 1958 jury's Candlestick investigation was led by its foreman Henry E. North, a conservative Republican, leading San Francisco businessman and vice president of Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. Burton Wolfe, who wrote The Guardian story, described North as being "full of fight, willing to take on City Hall and the entire business establishment even if it meant losing every friend he had."

North had uncovered a big

scandal, costing the taxpayers millions through 1993, and he was going to expose it.

But Mayor George Christopher and his business friends went to work on North. North's old business friends at the Pacific Union Club snubbed him and refused to speak to him.

North told Wolfe then that the publisher of one of the three daily newspapers in town called on him and said: "Henry, why don't you play ball? You're giving the city a bad name, stirring things up like this." Wolfe at the time published The Californian, the only newspaper that published the story.

They also went to work on North's wife. Unlike Henry, she was not involved in politics and her life revolved around her social affairs and friends. Her friends snubbed her and she was taken off many invitation lists. She cried, she pleaded, she begged Henry to call off the ball park investigation and a slander suit North had filed against Christopher for calling him "drunk and fixable." When that did not work she threatened him with divorce. Henry began hitting the bottle.

On June 2, 1960, the press broke the story that North and Christopher had "buried the hatchet." In its first edition, the Chronicle correctly reported that North and Christopher had drunk a fifth and a half of Scotch together at Christopher's home, praised each other for publication -- "he's a great mayor," North said--and agreed that legal entanglements were finished. The Chronicle dropped mention of the Scotch in later editions that went to most of its readers. The North case then was buried by

city hall and the press.

North's lawyer, Nate Cohn, was outraged. "We had this suit won," Cohn told Wolfe. "North assured me he was going through with this no matter what happened. But they got to him through his wife, the poor old bastard. You see how they do things in this city? It's so goddamned rotten you can't believe it."

Wolfe said that when he called on North again, he found him completely transformed. "The look of a peppery fighter with ruddy cheeks had given way to physical wreck, a baggy-eyed, tired, meek looking man weighed down by defeat."

## A broken man

North's wife divorced him anyway and, shortly afterward, a broken man died of a heart attack.

North spoke bitterly to Wolfe about his opponents in the business community and on the grand jury. "You know what I call men like that? Black Republicans. Men who never did anything in their lives for the good of the common people. They never realized that this country as a whole is no better off than the great masses of its people."

The 1958 grand jury was an accident, a once-in-a-generation phenomenon in San Francisco.

But the word went out: never again a grand jury like the Candlestick grand jury, never again a jury foreman like Henry North.

There hasn't been, and there probably never will be, unless the grand jury selection process is taken away from the chummy lodge of judges and their cronies and opened up to the people of the City of San Francisco.

## INSIDE

—continued from page 4

one-newspaper town. Mayor Alioto courageously vetoed Nelson's hard-won exemption. Nelson, undaunted, went back to work to get eight votes to override Alioto's veto. Nelson promised the five resolute holdouts (Roger Boas, Bob Mendelsohn, Jack Morrison, Leo McCarthy and Ron Pelosi) the votes

necessary to get city money to save the view on Mt. Olympus.

It was a sleazy offer -- Mt. Olympus's view should have been saved no matter what the cost, but nobody wanted to buy the view at the price of a tax break for the newspapers.

Next issue: all the good things the Examiner and Chronicle are doing.

## REXROTH

—continued from page 4

fellows who would have been invaluable to them.

This was not due just to their wild talk about shooting every honkie. It was due to their closed tight cliqueishness like a gang invading somebody else's turf.

For a half mile in every direction, the neighborhood is from 75 to 95 per cent Black, but it is a neighborhood of Black working men and working wives. Their reaction to the Panthers shocked even me with the violence of its wrath.

I'm not blaming anybody. I'm just saying this isn't the way to run a revolution or even start one. Who believes Willie Brown is a Tom? Certainly not the working people in his Assembly district. Most people who know him consider him the most enlightened, well educated and dedicated politician in the city.

He is almost as cultured as Kathleen herself. By choosing to run her, the product of one of the most fashionable schools in the country, and of course a person who would be considered white in any other country on earth, as a representative of the Black dispossessed against "Uncle Tom Willie," the Peace and Freedom Party and the Panthers

simply defied themselves into isolation.

It is so easy to believe that the people who turn out for a demonstration and make a lot of noise are going to vote--or even stay around if push comes to shove in the most literal sense in the demonstration. Most of the Peace and Freedom Party's following doesn't play any determinative role in the society. They are redundant.

## The unneeded

Students and young Blacks are the unneeded people in the technological society. They are dumped into universities and government projects just like the older industrial capitalism dumped unwanted commodities into the colonies and finally into the sea or burned them up in war as now they burn up youth, black and white.

The French May Days proved, as contrasted to their German sympathetic reflection, that you can't exert power if you can't form alliances with people the society can't get along without.

Until the longshoreman, the teamster and the housepainter and their wives, two practical nurses and a factory worker, (who live in the flat next to me) can

be convinced that the largely estimable program of the Panthers and The Peace and Freedom Party has some connection with them, and the persecution of Eldridge Cleaver or Huey Newton or Bobby Seale is a persecution of them, nothing is going to happen.

There just aren't enough people outside the system. Black unemployment in California may be twice that of white, but for the last couple of years that has only been six per cent and three per cent is the necessary functional labor turnover of full production totalling all categories.

In unskilled employment it is considerably higher. In other words 94 per cent of the Black working class population of California is working at any given time. They may want Black Power, but only in that context can they be convinced of it. If they think Black Power will destroy the context itself, they aren't going to buy it.

Black Power, Black Culture, Black Art, Black Theater, Black Poetry are all fine, but what's important is not what blonde college girls think about it, but what ordinary Black people do. Whether Eldridge Cleaver or Le-Roi Jones, the question is, "What has Ray Charles or Muddy Waters got that I haven't?"

Who's afraid of Muddy Waters?

## FILMS

—continued from page 11

film of 1968. Better there should be two awards. John Cassavetes, a talented actor, is a great director. His study of adultery among the straights in Los Angeles is brilliant: honest, strong, horrifying and compassionate.

There are excellent performances by John Marley as the businessman hero; Lynn Carlin as his marital partner in non-communication; Gina Rowlands as a sympathetic call girl; Fred Draper as her opposite number, a quasi-hippy hustler; and Dorothy Gulliver, once a charming ingenue in early talkies, magnificent as a fading middleclass wife on a night out.

There are loads of closeups in "Faces"; the pores, the wrinkles, the sweat, the tear streaks on human faces. This is the sharpest of social criticism; a real milieu is recreated and the tragic emptiness hits you right in the guts.

I'm running out of space. "Head", with a mixed bag of actors (the Monkeys, Victor Mature, Carol Doda, Sonny Liston and Annette Funicello) is a wildly funny put-on of TV, films, the fuzz, politicians, industry,

"Keep America Beautiful" and practically everything.

## Beatles score

The Beatles' "Yellow Submarine" is probably the most remarkable animated film ever made. Cartoons, photographs, travelogue footage, other media I can't name, are blended with sophistication Disney never imagined. The Beatles' songs, old and new, sound fresh and imaginative in this dazzler.

"Barbarella" is a personal triumph for witty Jane Fonda, who plays the astronaut heroine like an earnest girl scout, while wearing either the sexiest of clothing or nothing at all. Much of "Barbarella" is funny, beautiful or horrifying; some of it is dull and needs a good science fiction writer.

"Finnegan's Wake" is a tour de force: a dramatically exciting production of the most difficult of Joyce's works, with Martin J. Keeley fine as the Everyman hero and Jane Reilly exquisite as his wife, also earth mother and goddess. "Finnigan" makes you concentrate with your mind as well as your emotions, a salutary experience at the movies.



Sandwiches

Coffee House



# SF State crisis

- continued from page 1

(1) San Francisco State is an urban college which has been attempting to serve the San Francisco community. Twenty per cent of San Francisco residents are black, yet only a few more than 3% of State students are black, a steady reduction from the 11% of seven years ago.

(2) The Black Students Union (BSU) has been negotiating for 18 months to set up a Black Studies Department to attract more black students to the college. The trustees' latest excuse for delay: insufficient funds.

(3) Last year Reagan vetoed Sen. Mervyn Dymally's bill to provide funds to help disadvantaged students enter college.

(4) The trustees forced the resignation of two liberal presidents at the College--John Summerskill and Robert Smith. Both resigned because they were given neither the funds nor the freedom to act to meet legitimate student demands (which even the trustees now admit are legitimate) and to honestly solve State's problems.

(5) San Francisco is a liberal city and State is a liberal college. If the usual method of presidential selection had been followed, the faculty would have selected another liberal president. Knowing this, the trustees deliberately by-passed the faculty to pick Smith's successor. They selected Hayakawa, even though he had no administrative experience and a small academic reputation, but he did share Reagan's and the trustees' repressive policies.

(6) During his first days in office, Hayakawa did not meet the faculty or members of his own administrative staff. He was, however, closeted with Reagan's emissaries, Edwin Meese, legislative secretary, and Dr. Alex Sherriffs, education secretary. The first days were crucial. It was during this time that Hayakawa declared his State of Emergency, a time when law became fiat and order became police repression.

(7) Because of over-enrollment and Summerskill's initiation of

an Educational Opportunity Program, State has a \$500,000 deficit which the trustees have not seen fit to erase. If this deficit is not erased, 100-125 faculty members must be laid off at the end of the 1968 Fall Semester and student enrollment must be cut. Placed against the 7,000 entrance requests that had to be turned away this September, this reduction in enrollment is disastrous for San Francisco.

(8) The AFT has been posting grievances for several years. The workload at State is 50% higher than comparable colleges in other states; instructors pay is 20-30% lower; instructors have no contract; and the Academic Senate's decisions have been

Channel 4, the Chronicle Publishing Co.'s television subsidiary, abruptly cancelled a half-hour news background documentary at the height of the San Francisco State crisis.

One reason: management didn't seem to like the statements of the radical strike leaders. The program's writer, John Cox, quit in disgust and film editor Dave Peoples was fired when he submitted an angry inter-station memo on the affair.

violated frequently at will by the chancellor and trustees. The trustees have cited the lack of money as their reason for not improving work conditions and salaries. The \$3,500,000 I mentioned earlier is adequate to cover the teachers' demands.

(9) Reagan reduced the salary increase voted by the legislature in the 1968 session. This year the Coordinating Council, of which he now has control, reduced the salary increase recommended by the trustees.

(10) During the strike's early days in November, while Smith was still president, Reagan boasted about the presence of his agents on State's campus. They apparently did their work well -- in view of Hayakawa's early threat to expel 200 students and to fire 50 faculty members and his daily signing of warrants for the arrest of strike leaders.

The arrests were made on campus as agit-prop object lessons for striking students. Faculty were threatened with dismissal under Emergency Regulations if they didn't stick to their classes and offices. Fear, not open discussion, was the order of the day.

(11) Trustees turned down the College's Associated Students plan for a Student Union building. Some trustees did it purely out of punitive motives and publicly said so at the trustees' meeting. This rejection came after the Associated Students had spent \$150,000 of their own money to develop the building's plans and despite the fact that every

penny of its cost would come from student funds. An internationally known architect, Moshe Safdie, designed the building.

(12) The Associated Students had been using student funds to finance tutorial programs and community projects in the spirit of community service. The trustees have introduced a proposal to take control of students' funds away from students.

Although Reagan came to power advocating local control instead of centralized statism control, his practice is the exact opposite. I have cited 12 instances above, when, through his control of the board of trustees, he has imposed his will on San Francisco's college.

The attitude of the Governor and his Trustees can be seen clearly from their reply to Johns, who had correctly seen that San Franciscans had to rally to the defense of their college against political manipulation and economic strangulation. Theodore Meriam, chairman of the board of trustees, wired Johns:

"It is not appropriate for other agencies, either official or unofficial, and no matter how well intentioned, to attempt to intrude in an authoritative manner in affairs outside of their true area of responsibility."

San Franciscans were told to keep hands off.

With this attitude, Reagan may be in real political trouble for the first time since he assumed office. His persistent attacks on higher education are systematically eroding the 18 state colleges.

## Reagan Roulette

Originally conceived as four-year community colleges, the state colleges have become the pride of population centers throughout California. If the word gets out that these communities' colleges are being eroded, they may, under the cry of "home rule," rise against the Reagan machine and gum up his re-election works.

The "home rule" revolt is more than speculation. What has happened in San Francisco is beginning to happen all over the state. AFT locals either have received or are about to ask for strike sanction in San Jose, Humboldt, Hayward, Poma, Fullerton (Orange County), Sacramento and San Fernando Valley -- to support State and press similar home rule demands.

In a telegram to Johns, Meriam has said that, if the AFT requests a meeting with the trustees, the trustees will consider AFT demands. Gary Hawkins, President of Local 1352, has sent a reply requesting such a meeting and has indicated the union would be willing to negotiate.

The next move is up to the governor and trustees. If the governor continues to play Reagan Roulette with the state colleges, downward the course of education will take its way and San Francisco will be the poorer for it.



By Creighton H. Churchill

"I sewed plenty wild oats when I was young, and I didn't need any long hair or rock and roll dancing to have fun!" Posing for the T.V. cameras as he finished clearing the philosophical air, Peter Boudoures slammed down the gavel and continued to harass a witness.

Boudoures is president of the S.F. Board of Permit Appeals. He couldn't have been better cast by Hollywood. Ancient, tall and thin, he is a Mayor Christopher appointee grown senile in office. Complete with shock-white hair, Greek accent and expensive large lapel suits (for he is a highly successful businessman), Boudoures typified the super up-tight puritan father figure. A covert ham, he postured for camera and crowd effect while prattling high irrelevancies. And he killed the Avalon Ballroom and the Family Dog.

After the police lifted the Family Dog license in a highly irregular and biased hearing, Chet Helms, the Dog's president, appealed to the permit board headed by Boudoures. The first appeal hearing was four hours long and, thanks to the creatively inept stumblings of Boudoures, angered and frustrated all principals. Including the Avalon opponents.

The issue was tried, not on balance of burden and benefit to parties and the city, but rather on long hair, taking baths, pot, and the question of youth frequenting dance halls. Problems of soundproofing, litter, complaints --- all substance was effectively ignored.

The three younger members of the board (under 60) voted for the Dog in the first appeal, the two older men, including Boudoures, cast nay. Four-to-one was needed. After the vote, the Dog filed for a rehearing.

For the second appeal rehearing, issues were even clearer. There was sworn evidence of bribes and perjury on the part of the complainants and much new material evidence, more than enough to justify a new hearing. The proceedings lasted about four minutes.

Boudoures enlivened the farce by publicly chewing out the reporters from the Chronicle and Examiner before the meeting, then, when the Dog motion was introduced, he gavelled down attempts by the two youngest board members to speak on the Dog's behalf and rammed through the vote without allowing argument or testimony. ALL new evidence was ignored.

After bouncing the Dog, Boudoures' board upheld the police and approved permit for a Mission hockshop. It was against the manifest wishes of a majority of the neighborhood. When it was later disclosed that the applicant for the permit was a depositor in Boudoures' bank, he said, "It's only an account for \$5,000. Unless he has a million in there, it doesn't mean anything." Joy.

The Dog now has recourse only to the courts, a several-year process, and they are barred from the Avalon. Although Chet Helms is trying to find a new dance hall, the internationally-famous birthplace of San Francisco rock sound is dead.

San Francisco's touted "Cliff House" has burned down more often than any other Bay Area landmark; new buildings have risen on the ashes of old since Gold Rush times. A recent visit showed clues to the fires; most likely set by an angry customer or perhaps a disgusted native.

Run by Whitney's, the same group that gave you the tacky delights of Playland at the Beach just down the road, the Cliff House is decaying away on the choicest spot of marine view land in the city, the seal rocks' Point Lobos.

Other than exist, the restaurant makes no pretensions. The decor could be termed camp, WPA art, except it wasn't planned that way. Simply, nothing has changed since those days. Even, probably, some of the lettuce.

Walls are covered with the pictures of old network radio stars (even a young picture of Don Sherwood with a seal. He looks healthier now), the paint is dirty yellow and green colors, the china and fake silverware are abominable, and the waiters are slow, overworked, and tell rotten, tourist-type jokes as they mix up your order.

The food is average-to-below-par, but the prices would do justice to a haute cuisine center-city establishment. Dinner for two with wine was \$17 with tip.

With typical reverse genius, the city has been considering sale of the Playland properties to developers for high rise apartments. Perhaps there is a secret master plan for converting the Cliff House into a 3,000-seat hot-dog stand. It would surprise few.

Jerry Jensen, younger dean of local T.V. news, returns to the air after a stint in business via the recherche pleasures of Channel 44. His 10 PM news is being super-hyped, as is a metaspectacularcosmic suprise in 44's programming, to be unveiled in January. Maybe live reruns?

The Smothers Brother, West Coast owners of the rights to "Hair," the smash NY Hip musical, are bringing same to Keith Rockwell's graveyard, the On Broadway Alcazar .....

The Chronicle moves to stereo FM Dec. 16 with KRON-FM. Soon Super-Chron will be battling MetroMedia for the pleasure of packaging and selling the entire city to the Philistines .....

The Scottish Rite Temple owns both the Avalon and the Fillmore West (Carousel) ballrooms and Bill Graham is nervous after the Dog's last stand .....

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# CAL EXPO

-continued from page 5

One reason this is so is that the Sacramento business community, once assured that the state was firmly committed to pouring the people's money into Cal Expo, showed no interest whatsoever in using the exposition for convention purposes. Instead, it plunged ahead with plans to develop a separate convention center downtown twice rejected by the voters.

## PROTECTIONIST

The community's two newspapers participated enthusiastically in this schizophrenia--though no one has ever shown that a community of Sacramento's size could support both Cal Expo and a separate convention center.

The Sacramento Bee, liberal on faraway issues, avid protectionist of its commercial community at home, refused even to discuss the matter in print until late in the Assembly hearings. During the disastrous Expo season, it ran headlines such as "Huge Crowds Expected at Expo During Weekend" as the top story (!) on Page one, giving second billing to such minor events as an earthquake that killed 12,000 people.

The Sacramento Union, arch-conservative apostle of the Coppley Press, had a glowing opportunity to make competitive hay and embarrass the Bee's sophomoric devotion to a lost cause.

But the Union, which just completed a new plant near the most likely convention center location, also put the lid on critical stories about Cal Expo.

The suppression, incidentally, was not the fault of reporters for either paper. Both papers at one time or another assigned reporters to Cal Expo who wanted to tell the full story but couldn't get it in their newspapers.

The only hope at this point --and it's not one that would look good to a wagerer--is that the Reagan administration, which defaulted on its philosophy in subsidizing Cal Expo, heeds its own warning and declines to take money from education or some other high-priority needs for allocation to the exposition.

Failing that, the only recourse would be the Legislature, which probably could but almost certainly won't force closing of the entire exposition for a year. This course would pressure private and local government interests in Sacramento that the state is now subsidizing to get off the dime and make some contribution to the exposition.

The money that the state otherwise will spend on Cal Expo could be better spent almost anywhere else.

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- continued from page 7

## BART's ride to oblivion

The reason we lost it was presented clearly in the first of this four part series ("Manhattan Madness," June 18, 1968). San Francisco's business leaders decided upon trains to bring commuters along one track into a centralized downtown district of high-rise buildings. The motive: more centralization of greater profits. The civic crusade to get rid of automobiles, congestion, slaughter on the roads, more parking lots and increasing air pollution--this was a side issue.

Whether it was greed or stupidity, the point is BART's \$2 billion-plus should have been used to finance a truly futuristic system.

In the meantime, a bus service on auto-free lanes, hydrofoils scooting back and forth across the Bay and ferry boats could have been put in operation quickly to siphon off automobiles.

The major problem: no one on BART's board of directors staff has knowledge and imagination enough to figure out what ought to be done.

San Francisco, Alameda and Contra Costa counties--the only three left in BART--ought to hire someone like Wesley V. Hurley. He is chief engineer of research and development for the Port of New York Authority and a noted transportation expert. Here is what he told me:

"We need a radical approach to our transportation problems, the same kind of imaginative effort now going into the development of space flight. If we fail to do this, I'm afraid that urban mobility in the future may, with the exception of modest betterments in comfort and esthetics--and that is all BART produces--look very much like the urban mobility of today: the more urban, the less mobile.

"The golden age of innovation in urban transportation occurred

between 50 and 100 years ago. During this period, all current forms of urban transport were developed and put to use: railroads, trolley cars, cable cars, monorails, elevateds, subways,

"Pay increases for (BART's) high level management officials earning \$20,000 or more per year--23 of them in all--will also be discussed at the next board meeting later this month. (Chronicle, Dec. 13.)

bicycles, motorcycles, buses, trolley buses, trucks and automobiles.

"They were all revolutionary and imaginative engineering innovations at the time of their introduction...However, no new land transport concept has found its way into regular operation since 1913. Instead, the scene of bold and imaginative transportation technology shifted primarily to air travel and thence to space travel.

"I believe that it is time to start a renaissance in land transportation."

Hurley tried. He commissioned General Electric, Westinghouse and Stanford Research Institute to work out a futuristic system. They did. New York did not buy it because the city couldn't get right of way in suburban communities. So: the study and design part of the work has now been done, and the San Francisco Bay Area could make use of it. Sufficient right of way is now available.

"You in the Bay Area had the first chance to try out such a new system because you were starting

from scratch (whereas New York already had trains in operation)," Hurley lamented. "But you didn't take it."

After months of research for this series, it is my opinion the Bay Area should not construct any total transportation system to bring more people into centralized business districts. Whatever system is built will destroy the beauty of the Bay Area, San Francisco in particular, and cause even more intolerable overcrowding.

### Decentralize cities

We ought to decentralize the whole area. People should live within easy range of their jobs.

so that they could walk, ride bicycles, take trolleys or buses or drive to work. We should concentrate on developing electrified or some other non-polluting form of bus or car that can be sold to individuals, not operated as a mass system costing billions.

If the people of the Bay Area disagree and continue to buy centralization, then they must squarely face the fact a vast transportation system is necessary to handle the ever growing mobs of commuters. The system will cost many, many billions of dollars.

The ridiculous \$144 million argument over BART is an argument over peanuts and birdseed compared to the sum needed to

complete the system and effect more centralization.

Business leaders, politicians and BART directors should start talking sense. Admit that billions are needed to carry out the plans for more centralization, and go all out for a transportation system that will do the job with some retention of human dignity and community integrity. Or else make radically different plans for the future organization of the Bay Area.

In either case, get off BART's ride to oblivion.

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## FORT

- continued from page 4

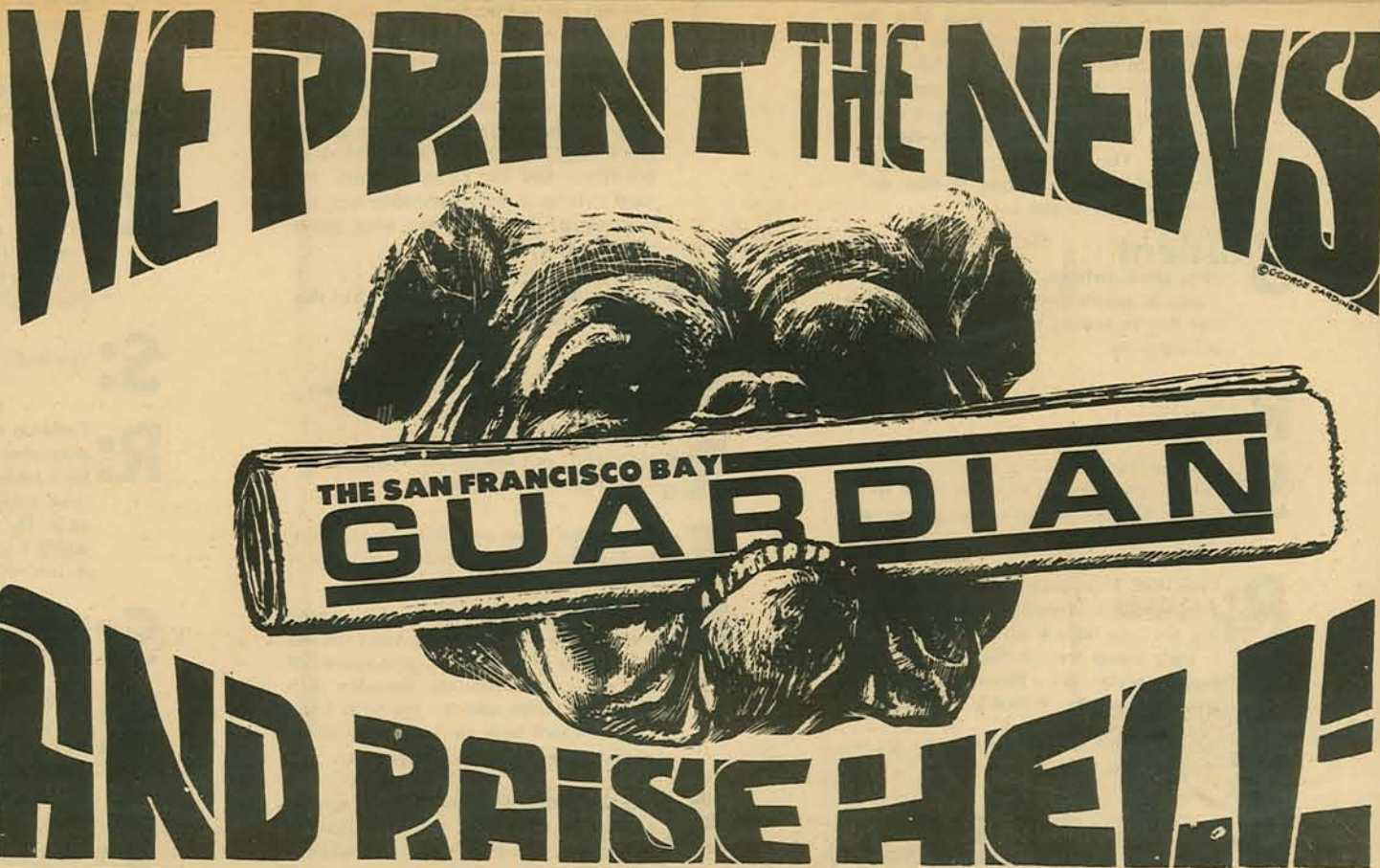
with political influence. As a major step toward regional government, we should have a coordinated Bay Area Police Department. Semi-autonomous area units could be responsive to the needs of ghettos and other special population groups.

Enforcement, bail, probation and the machinery of justice must be the same for black and white, poor and rich, if we are to have order. We must eliminate those activities which breed disrespect and hypocrisy. Investigate and stop the corruption of many narcotics and vice cops.

Remove from criminal law the statutes against private adult sexual behavior and drug use (alcohol and marijuana). Allow civilians to handle the nonessentials of traffic control. Prohibit off-duty police from carrying guns. Initiate psychological screening of officers.

The greatest police effort must be preventive. For example: community relations, delinquency programs, anti-burglary and -theft education. Closer consultation with California's outstanding Chief Deputy Attorney-General, Charles O'Brien, would benefit police departments.

Our society cannot continue to ignore the roots of our problems--the deteriorated quality of life, the bureaucratization, alienation--while expecting police to provide the "solution through force (perhaps a "final solution"). Nor does the answer lie in blanket condemnation of all police which would cause further polarization, hatred, and violence. A better world for all must contain a better world for the policeman, including security, status and respect.



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As the script below is read, the three huge puppets above cavort on stilts manned from the ground by members of the troupe. From left: the student, the reporter, the cop.

## Reporter

Here we are again at San Francisco State College, and there are unconfirmed rumors of tactical squad violence, but from everything we of the 4th Estate have seen, the police deserve to be commended for their restraint (CHORUS OF SCREAMS) in the face of terrific provocation. Of course there are extremists on both sides, but the Responsible Majority appear to be sick and tired of the excesses of a tiny minority and eager to get back to their studies. In the meantime, there have been some minor skirmishes and in general an eerie calm and a rainy gloom have settled over the fragrant and strife-ridden campus. This is your reporter at San Francisco State, awaiting further developments. Over and out.

## Student

Hey, quick, help us. The Tac Squad got a bunch of people down in the boiler room and they're beating their brains out. Help us stop them.

R: Sorry, kid, I got all the tape I can use for today.

S: Are you kidding? Listen, man, this is murder. People have got to know about this. This is NEWS. We got to make people see what we're fighting.

R: Look kid, I sympathize with your aims. Free speech is something I go for 100%. But the cops have a job to do, they have to keep things from getting out of hand. I'm a reporter, not a muckraker; I'm responsible to the WHOLE community.

S: Yeah, but that's the whole idea: we got to change people's minds.

R: Look, sonny, I can't just say they're beating people without explaining WHY: that's propaganda. My job is to bring people the FACTS, ALL the facts, so they can draw their own conclusions. That's what Freedom of the Press means. That's the Fourth Estate.

S: Yeah, but where do YOU stand?

R: OH, I'm with you, 100%. Free Huey!

## Cop

All right you pointy-headed niggerlovers, MOVE. This ain't no debating society, I mean MOVE.

S: Oink, oink. (EXIT WITH COP CHASING)

R: Looks like an ugly situation brewing. I better go turn my tapes in. (EXIT)

## Next Day

S: (addressing rally) Welcome to Liberation Class. We have to go on fighting, and we have to know WHY we're fighting—that's one difference between us and them, the other being that they have guns, and we only have each other. So in case any of you have forgotten, or had it knocked out of your heads yesterday, here is what we want. We want the pigs off campus. We want to decide for ourselves who's allowed to go to school with us and teach us. We don't want it decided by the red-baiting politicians and the ex-movie stars. We want to be men, not corporation men, not servicemen, but MEN. We want power over our own lives.

R: Hold it, hold it. I just got here. Say that again for the mike, will ya?

S: OK, just a second, I gotta finish talking.

R: No, NOW, so I can get the whole thing at once. I got a fresh tape here.

S: Look, how come you didn't want it yesterday and all of a sudden you want it now?

R: It's a question of time, kid. I'm a busy man. Today I got the time. And I can use your point of view. We'll give you a full 2½ minutes between the interview with President Smith and the one with Chief Cahill. You'll have the ear of the whole nation. So let's hear your demands.

S: Get the hell out of here. This ain't a press conference, it's a rally. And I'm talking to the people who have to do the fighting.

R: You're being stupid, kid. I'm the only chance you've got. An objective reporter is the only thing that stands between you and a four-foot billyclub.

C: By authority of the Gov. Pat Brown Riot Control Act 2264 I hereby declare this an illegal assembly. You are all under arrest. I order you to disperse. However, since you are all under arrest, dispersing constitutes resisting arrest, and... oh, the hell with it. All right you hairy anarchist commies. You've had it. (HITS REPORTER)

R: But I'm a working reporter. Don't you know freedom of the press? The 4th Estate! I tell your side too! Would you like to be interviewed?

C: Go park yer bicycle straight, ya pink panther. (HITS HIM AGAIN) (TURNS TO STUDENT) OK agitator now it's yer turn. I'm gonna mace you like a cockroach you hippy bastard. (CHASES STUDENT OFF)

R: But, but, but... This is my JOB. All I want is enough money to drop outa the rat race, maybe start a little commune or something. I'm a responsible Reporter. I'm not on strike. I'm not trying to change anything. Ow. Ow. Ow.

S: (RUNS BACK) I lost him, man, he musta smelt some truffles. You okay?

R: That stinking pig! Does he think his boss won't get a letter from AP? Yeah, and UP too, and REUTERS. And Walter Cronkite Goddamit! I ain't no communist, I ain't no hippy, I pull down 240 a day for this work, he'll find out.

S: You make 240 dollars a day?

R: Goddam right, overtime plus hazardous duty plus riot pay. I don't hafta be out here taking this crap, I could be downtown behind a cushy desk with my name on it. The hell with that pig, he'll find out, wait'll I tell my station manager. He can't do this to the 4th Estate.

S: Well, how about delivering our message to the public? Think they're ready for it?

R: Today? Forget it sonny. Today the Big Story reads like this: COP ASSAULTS REPORTER, no wait. COPS beat the Press, that's it. Yeah, beat the press, they'll never live it down.

S: What about the strike? What about all of us?

R: I'll have that cop on a lineup, by God, I'll have his job inside of a week, or he's gonna have to do some fast apologizing. COPS Beat the Press, Yeah that's it. (EXITS)

S: Up your Media 4th Estate! This strike isn't transistors, this strike is people. The next time you parasites come around you can share some of that Riot Pay with us. This strike is not what you see on TV. This strike is not the pictures of it in the paper, or the anecdotes Herb Caen gets out of it. This strike is the people right here. And whatever we have to do to get the pigs off campus and the cowboy politicians off our backs. We want the campus open! Not open like the jaws of the trap, but really open. And it won't be really open until it belongs to us.